

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

How July 26 Movement organized to topple U.S.-backed tyranny in Cuba

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Day of Solidarity boosts striking Utah miners

BY TERI MOSS
AND ANNE CARROLL

HUNTINGTON, Utah—Coal miners from seven mines in the West and others, including unionists from as far away as the San Francisco Bay Area, came here February 7 for a “Day of Solidarity” with miners on strike against CW Mining. The day included an expanded picket line outside the struck mine and a labor solidarity rally at the junior high school gym.

The fighting spirit was palpable as 17 members of International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10 stepped off the bus that arrived here at noon that day from Salt Lake City. The members of Local 10, based in San Francisco, were clad in black and yellow uniforms with “ILWU Drill Team” emblazoned on their jackets. They were greeted by the striking miners and their supporters, with individuals vying to shake hands with each person as they filed by.

Several cars accompanied the bus, bringing 75 union members and others here from Salt Lake. Backers of the coal miners’ strike also arrived in carloads from Craig, Colorado, and nearby towns in Utah, including East Carbon, Price, and Helper. United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) representatives

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Militant/Amanda Ulman

The drill team of International Longshore and Warehouse Union Local 10 from San Francisco led February 7 expanded picket line outside Co-Op mine in Huntington, Utah.

Navajo coal miners walk out in New Mexico

BY FRANCISCO PICADO

CRAIG, Colorado—“We want the company to respect our Native people,” said Ron Peterman, president of the International Union of Operating Engineers Local 953, in comments reported by the February 6 *Independent*, a daily based in Gallup, New Mexico. “That is more important than wages.”

Some 438 workers, 90 percent of whom are Navajo, struck BHP Billiton surface mines in Farmington, New Mexico, at midnight, January 31, when their three-year contract ran out.

“Our membership decided it was going to fight this time,” said picket captain J.D. Arnold in a February 7 telephone interview with the *Militant*. “Miners decided that we need to improve our wages and we needed an acceptable pension plan.” The workers are also demanding full benefits for members on military leave, as well as better coverage for Native American healing services, since the current plan covers “only a portion of the cost of those

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U.S. offensive against Cuba, Venezuela gets a hand from big-business daily

BY SAM MANUEL
AND ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

An article in the February 2 *Wall Street Journal* boosted Washington’s escalating offensive against Cuba and Venezuela. The

article echoed charges by White House officials that the governments of Cuban president Fidel Castro and Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez are working together to “destabilize” Latin America.

Under the headline “For Aging Castro, Chávez Emerges as a Vital Crutch,” the *Journal* article said, “Worries of such an alliance have grown since Indian and radical groups forced Bolivian president Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada to resign last October.” To back up this claim, the *Journal* reporters asserted that Evo Morales, one of the leaders of peasant groups that revolted and brought down the Sánchez de Lozada government, “has close ties to both Mr. Castro and Mr. Chávez.”

A second major theme of the article was summed up in its subhead, which read: “Cuba’s ballooning debt to Venezuela serves as form of life support.” It claimed that Cuba’s short-term oil debt to Venezuela has grown from \$96 million in November 2001 to \$752 million today. The big-business daily raised a hue and cry about this

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Thousands pour into Havana book fair on opening day

BY RÓGER CALERO
AND ALEX ALVARADO

HAVANA—At 10:00 a.m. on February 6 the gates of San Carlos de la Cabaña opened and thousands of people poured into the grounds of this former Spanish colonial fortress commanding the entrance to Havana Bay. A few hours later many were streaming back out laden with bags of books.

By the end of the afternoon, tens of thousands of people had visited the 13th Havana International Book Fair on the first full day of this 10-day cultural festival. Fair officials expect to surpass last year’s record attendance of 300,000.

Some 5 million copies of books and pam-
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Bush on TV: ‘I am a war president’

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—“I’m a war president,” declared George W. Bush in a TV interview at the White House aired February 8 on NBC’s *Meet the Press* Sunday morning show. “I make decisions here in the Oval Office on foreign policy matters with war on my mind,” he continued. “And the American people need to know they got a president who sees the world the way it is.”

Bush drew extensively in his remarks on recent testimony by David Kay at the Senate Armed Services Committee. The statements by Kay, a former top U.S. weapons

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Protesters attempt to stop clinic closure in Swedish city

BY ANDREAS BERGERHEIM AND DAG TIRSÉN
GOTHENBURG, Sweden—Around 250 angry residents gathered here in the Hammarkullen community January 31 to defend their local health-care center, due to be closed by April 1.

“Think about what it means for single mothers when they have to travel far to get to the doctor with their children,” said Saleh Sharaf, president of the Kurdish Union, speaking in Kurdish. “Hammarkullen is a community with many children. If our bodies are not healthy our brains can’t think well. This is a dangerous development for the society.”

Dahir Jam Mohammed, president of the local Somalian Association, spoke in Arabic. He described what happened to him when he had to go to a hospital at the other side of town and wait there from 8:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. the next day to get treatment. “Usually you had to wait for 20–30 minutes at the health-care center in Hammarkullen,” he said.

The rally and march were preceded by a 24-hour occupation of the health-care center by activists from the Hammarkullen Wages Resistance (HARM) coalition. A total of 160 people were involved, taking turns both staying in the center and keeping watch outside. On one occasion, 40 activists prevented security guards from evicting the occupants. They organized a telephone chain to mobilize people to defend the occupation.

The action had broad support in the community. The local Swedish Church

called and offered refreshments. *Militant* reporters interviewed several occupants after the action. Siv Isaksson said that the Hammarkullen community has a tradition of resistance since the 1970s. After the government announced its decision to close the clinic last November, residents formed HARM and started to mobilize to prevent the closure. Hammarkullen is one of five local health-care centers that are scheduled to be closed in Gothenburg. Two of them are going to “merge” with others, but three will be closed without any pretense of an alternative. Residents of Hammarkullen have virtually no possibility to get access to the remaining centers that are already overcrowded.



Militant/Andreas Bergerheim
Residents of Hammarkullen in Gothenburg, Sweden, protest January 31 closing of clinic.

Quebec: strikers at Archivex resist concessions

BY SYLVIE CHARBIN
MONTREAL—Workers at the Archivex storage company have entered their fifth month on strike—a response to the company’s demands for major concessions in their contract. Talking to *Militant* reporters on January 23, they stated their determination to continue their fight. The 35 members of the Union of Archivex Workers (STTA) have been without a contract since Dec. 31, 2002. The company is proposing a five-year wage freeze and bonus pay tied to hours worked. It also wants to transfer 25 percent of the cost of group medical insurance onto union members. The workers, whose union is affiliated to the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN), launched their strike on September 10. Two months later they voted unanimously to reject the company’s “revised” offer. Archivex, a company that provides archive storage and delivery services from four warehouses in the Montreal area, is owned by Iron Mountain, a U.S.-based corporation that recorded \$1.3 billion annual profits in 2002. It is the only unionized division of Iron Mountain in Quebec.

A thick layer of snow covered two company delivery vans parked outside one warehouse as *Militant* reporters spoke to union president Jean-Pierre Groulx, 38, who has worked as a truck driver for 15 years. He said that despite Quebec law, which bars employers from using replacement workers during a strike, “the company is using several couriers—FedEx, Purolator, UPS—to make deliveries.”

In the government’s eyes, Groulx said, the burden is on the union to furnish proof that Iron Mountain is violating the law. “We have had to constantly videotape these activities. But on February 6, we received the government inspector’s report that cited 143 company violations of the law,” he said.

The union has received support from many CSN unions. For their part, strik-

ers have joined labor demonstrations against Quebec government changes to the Quebec Labor Code. Last year the Liberal Party government of Quebec premier Jean Charest rammed through a bill to make it easier for companies and government services to contract out work, lower wages, worsen working conditions, and get rid of unions—part of a flurry of anti-union legislation.

For Dave Poirier, who worked at Archivex for only five months before the strike, “The union’s weekly meetings keep us motivated. We say what we think and decide what to do next.”

At the January 22 meeting, union members also voted to ask the CSN to appeal to the Teamsters Union to have their members honor their picket lines.



STTA
Picket line at Montreal company Archivex October 16. The strike is into fifth month.

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Cuba and Venezuela

Continued from front page

alleged debt of Cuba, which is a pittance compared to the U.S. foreign debt that now exceeds \$6 trillion.

As further evidence of a Cuba-Venezuela “subversive” axis in the Americas, the *Journal* pointed to the opposition by both governments to the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and a conference held at the end of January in Havana to oppose U.S. imperialism’s attempts to impose this trade pact. About 1,200 people from throughout the Americas took part in that gathering. (See article in last week’s *Militant*.) Washington is trying to impose the FTAA in order to eliminate the protective trade and investment policies of the semicolonial countries in South America, in particular, opening them up to even greater exploitation by U.S. imperialism while maintaining tariffs that subsidize U.S. businesses. The U.S. rulers will use the trade pact as one more tool in their drive to reinforce Washington’s domination of these semicolonial nations and strengthen their edge over rival imperialist powers around the world.

In separate press conferences in early January Roger Noriega, U.S. assistant secretary of state for Western Hemisphere affairs, and U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell accused Cuba of “actions to destabilize Latin America.” These government officials said that Havana was collaborating with Caracas towards this end. Noriega warned that, “Those that continue in destabilizing democratically elected governments, interfering in the internal affairs of other governments, are playing with fire.”

The *Journal* writers also assert that Venezuela has become “the biggest financial supporter of Cuba since the Soviet Union.” They wrote that Cuba has a debt of \$752 million for oil shipped by Venezuela’s oil company, Petroleos de Venezuela (PDVSA), and that the Venezuelan government is making no effort to collect it. Claiming to have access to “internal documents” and “people close to the company,” the authors wrote that Cuba receives oil in preferential terms. This includes having 90 days to pay for shipments as opposed to 30 days for other buyers, they claimed, adding that Cuba’s debt represents 80 percent of the roughly \$931 million owed to PDVSA by all its customers.

The *Journal* article described PDVSA director Ali Rodríguez as a former leader of a guerilla group that fought the Venezuelan government in the 1960s and 1970s. It also complains that this year the state-owned company plans to “slash investment in exploration while boosting funds used by the government on social programs, including building homes for the poor and combating illiteracy.”

The article quotes Venezuelan minister of energy and mines Rafael Ramírez denying that Cuba is delinquent in paying for its oil shipments. “There is no delay at all,” Ramírez said.

“We don’t mind that Cuba was a client,” said Edgar Paredes, “just as long as it paid its bills and the terms of the contract were transparent.” Paredes is a former director of PDVSA. He was among thousands of management personnel fired from the state-owned company last year for leading a U.S.-backed bosses’ “strike” that aimed unsuccessfully at toppling the Chávez government.

“This same Edgar Paredes was involved in the suspension of oil shipments to Cuba in April 2002,” said Lázaro Herrera Martínez, a diplomat at the Cuban Interests Section in Washington, D.C., in a February 5 interview with the *Militant*.

Cuban government responds

In an editorial *Granma* had published May 30, 2002, the Cuban daily responded in some detail to accusations similar to the *Journal*’s that had been leveled against Cuba by *El Nuevo Herald*, the Spanish-language sister publication of the *Miami Herald*. The Miami daily claimed at the time that the Venezuelan government had terminated its oil contract with Cuba because of “the systematic failure on the part of the island to meet its payment obligations.”

The *Herald* published these allegations shortly after the U.S.-backed military coup that tried unsuccessfully to bring down the Chávez government. During the two-day coup in April 2002, a statement issued by a top official of PDVSA announced there would be, “Not one more barrel of oil to Cuba.” According to Herrera, this official

was none other than PDVSA director Edgar Paredes. PDVSA did suspend all oil shipments to Cuba on April 12, 2002, the second day of the coup. After Chávez returned to power following mass mobilizations of working people that sharpened divisions in the military, PDVSA did not immediately resume oil shipments.

The 2002 *Granma* editorial said that the Cuban and Venezuelan governments had signed a contract Oct. 30, 2000, “for the sale of crude oil and its derivatives, establishing the terms and conditions of the supply of a total of 53,000 barrels per day for a five-year period.” That quantity amounts to “33 percent of the country’s consumption,” it noted. The contract stipulated that the bulk of the supply would be paid within 90 days, and payment on the rest—between 5 percent and 13 percent of the total—would be “deferred for a period of a few years with two years’ grace.”

When the PDVSA officials, who were part of the effort to oust Chávez by declaring a lockout in the state oil company, terminated oil shipments to Cuba, Havana was current in its payments for the oil supply, *Granma* stated. “As for payments, as of that same date [April 11, 2002] and in line with the agreement signed, Cuba had made cash payments of \$439.7 million. Given the large increase in oil prices, the deferred part then amounted to \$127.7 million, which... would begin to be paid off starting next year.”

The Venezuelan government had extended these terms not only to Cuba but to a number of other countries in the Caribbean under the Caracas Energy Agreement to partially alleviate the debt burden many semicolonial countries faced because of rising oil prices on the world market, which is dominated by finance capital.

“The Caracas Agreement was a just Venezuelan initiative to partially alleviate that situation, and the respect merited by that country and its president obliges Cuba to give special consideration to the Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela,” the 2002 *Granma* editorial said. “For our part, we have not spared any effort, sacrifice, and expense to cooperate with that sister nation and we will continue doing so.”

PDVSA restarted oil shipments to Cuba in August 2002—nearly four months after the failed coup—and these have continued



Reuters/Jorge Silva

Workers at Venezuela’s El Palito oil refinery work to restore production March 28, 2003, following failed bosses’ “strike” that had shut down much of the country’s oil industry for two months. Defying the predictions of industry experts, the refinery was brought back to full production within months of the crippling shutdown.

uninterrupted ever since.

In response to the February 2 *Wall Street Journal* article, the following day *Granma* published a front-page editorial titled, “The cynical campaigns of the U.S. government.”

“Cuba has met its financial obligations to Venezuela and will not fail to pay a single penny for the oil it has received and continues to receive from that country in accordance with the agreements signed by the two governments,” it said.

Granma explained that the *Journal*’s allegations are part of Washington’s escalating offensive against Cuba and Venezuela. The U.S. government, it said, has been falsely accusing Havana and Caracas of seeking to destabilize other Latin American countries as a pretext for U.S. military aggression against the two nations.

The U.S. government is seeking to blame Cuba and Venezuela for social instability that in reality is caused by the economic crisis devastating Latin America today, *Granma* said.

“The cause is not to be found in imaginary, macabre plans by Cuba and Venezuela,” the editorial stated, “but in the real results of the imperialist policy of imposing on the

peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean a vicious model of the most savage capitalism.” Such conditions are unsustainable and intolerable, said *Granma*.

The Chávez government has drawn the ire of Washington and its backers in Venezuela’s capitalist class because of measures it has adopted that have threatened the prerogatives of finance capital. These have included an agrarian reform law and a bill strengthening state control of oil and other mineral resources that are part of the country’s national patrimony. In fighting to implement these measures and defend their interests, working people in Venezuela have gained more self-confidence and developed higher expectations, which is what scares Washington and the Venezuelan bourgeoisie. While working people have twice defeated attempts by the wealthy classes in Venezuela to overthrow the nationalist government of Chávez—the April 2002 coup and last year’s bosses’ “strike”—the pro-imperialist opposition in Venezuela is not sitting with its arms crossed. Its next salvo in its drive to oust the government is a referendum to recall the president. But as Venezuelans workers and peasants have proved already, this will not be easy.

Imperialist powers squeeze Argentina on IMF loan

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

The so-called G-7 imperialist powers used their February 7–8 meeting in Florida to increase the pressure on Argentina’s rulers to start making billions of dollars in payments to holders of Argentine government bonds. They unanimously issued a statement instructing Buenos Aires to “engage constructively with its creditors” to pay off \$88 billion in loans on which it defaulted more than two years ago.

“It’s awfully important that Argentina live up to its commitments to the IMF, proceed with reforms that they’ve committed to, and put themselves in compliance with the IMF program,” U.S. Treasury Secretary John Snow told the other G-7 members—Paris, Berlin, Tokyo, Rome, London, and Ottawa—meeting in Boca Raton, Florida.

Argentine president Néstor Kirchner has adopted a defiant stance toward the demands of the international bondholders. He stated the day after the G-7 meeting that he would stick to his original proposal that the bondholders write off 75 percent of the debt they hold. “There’s no possibility of modifying [our proposal],” he said. “To pay more would burden the Argentine people with more difficulties than they already have.”

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) executive board had approved a \$358 million loan payment to Argentina 10 days earlier. The vote on the action revealed tactical differences among the imperialist powers over how to deal with the economic crisis in the second-largest economy in South America. Representatives of eight governments on the 24-member board abstained in the January 28 vote, indicating their disagreement with the decision, which was directed by Washington.

Among the eight who formed the minority in the vote were the representatives of Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom. They were joined by those of Australia, Belgium, Denmark, Iceland, and Switzerland. The

15 who backed the U.S. position included the governments of Canada, France, and Germany, as well as Spain, Brazil, and Russia.

Washington’s position reflects the U.S. rulers’ concern about instability in the second-largest country of South America, which they consider to be their “backyard.” The eight who abstained, are bent on pushing to satisfy the demands of their bondholders for immediate payments on the debt and are less concerned about whether such demands could stoke the potential for a social explosion simmering in Argentina.

The funds approved January 28 are part of a \$13.3 billion three-year loan agreed to last September between Buenos Aires and the IMF. That loan essentially rolled over Argentina’s debt to the U.S.-dominated institution, which plays an important role in capitalists’ ability to siphon off the wealth produced by workers and farmers in the semicolonial world. The deal was arrived at after the Argentine government defaulted on a \$3 billion payment, the largest missed payment in IMF history. The IMF is Argentina’s only current source of external financing.

In December 2001 the government of Fernando de la Rúa defaulted on \$88 billion dollars in sovereign debt—interest payments to holders of government bonds that were touted in the 1990’s as easy moneymakers. The bonds attracted billions of dollars of investment internationally—and in Italy and Germany, in particular—from large capitalists as well as pensioners and others who sank retirement funds and life-savings into the get-rich-quick scheme.

The gross domestic product in Argentina dropped by 12 percent in 2002, and working people faced the brunt of an economic meltdown, in which unemployment reached as high as 25 percent, inflation shot up to 40 percent, and the peso lost 70 percent of its value against the dollar. An explosion of working-class struggles brought down

four presidents in rapid succession as the capitalists tried to stabilize their control.

Behind the eight abstentions in the IMF’s vote to make the \$358 loan payment to Argentina stand the bondholders who are growing increasingly worried they will never see the \$88 billion on which Buenos Aires defaulted in late 2001. They argue that the IMF is giving the Argentine government no incentive for negotiating a payment on its debt to them.

The lead editorial in the February 2 London *Financial Times* argued that it is “Time to say no to Argentina.” The editors of the business daily state that the “recidivist government” in Buenos Aires must be taught a lesson because of the impact it would have on other semicolonial countries trapped in debt slavery. “Any crisis-hit country of sufficient size and importance could conclude from this episode that it should choose foot-stamping defiance to the IMF over painful but necessary reform,” wrote the editors. They displayed particular rancor over the fact that the Argentine government “refused to allow utility prices to rise.”

In September 2003 Argentina offered bondholders 25 cents on the dollar to settle the debt. Buenos Aires also stated that it would not pay any interest on the debt from the time it defaulted in 2001, meaning in effect that the Kirchner government is calling for a 90 percent write-off on the debt. Representatives of the bondholders countered that they would accept 65 cents on the dollar.

The creditors and their representatives claim that a recovery is underway in the Argentine economy. Pointing to an up to 8 percent increase in the country’s gross domestic product last year, they argue that Buenos Aires should pay up. With official unemployment at close to 16 percent, however, the economic devastation that the imperialist debt-squeeze has meant for workers and farmers in Argentina remains a reality for millions.

Kay testimony aids war party in the U.S.

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The recent testimony before the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee by David Kay, a former top weapons “inspector” in Iraq, has helped consolidate the position of the war party in the United States.

Kay, who was the head of the Iraq Survey Group, defended the Bush administration’s main rationale for going to war against Iraq—namely that the regime of Saddam Hussein posed a serious threat to “America.” His arguments strengthened those pushing Washington’s strategy of preemption against “terrorists.” Kay’s claim of “intelligence failures” leading up to the Iraq war is also now being widely used by top U.S. government officials to fortify the CIA and other spy agencies.

In his February 4 testimony before the same Senate committee, U.S. secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld reiterated one of the main views Kay had expressed before the body January 28. He urged the senators to “step back and take a look at the bigger picture and see that U.S. intelligence capabilities are strengthened sufficiently to meet the threats and challenges of this century.” CIA director George Tenet hit on similar themes in a February 5 address at Georgetown University, as did President George Bush in an interview aired February 8 on NBC TV’s “Meet the Press” (see article below).

Better “intelligence,” i.e., more effective spying at home and abroad, is a central component of the U.S. rulers’ “war on terrorism.”

“The president has announced that he will be forming a bipartisan commission on strengthening U.S. intelligence capabilities,” Rumsfeld told the Senate Armed Services Committee.

The hearings by this committee are designed to satisfy most in the ruling class on the administration’s rationale for the war on Iraq and to broaden support for U.S. imperialism’s new military strategy. The U.S.-led occupying forces have not found “weapons of mass destruction” (WMD) in Iraq nine months after the overthrow of

the Saddam Hussein regime. Kay said his assessment is that no such weapons existed at the start of the war. Liberal critics of the White House have used this statement to buttress their drive to defeat Bush in this year’s presidential elections by claiming the Bush administration manipulated CIA reports to justify going to war in Iraq.

Both Kay and Rumsfeld, however, denied that administration officials had done anything of the sort. Kay said the accusation is “absolutely wrong.” Asked if he knew of any action by White House officials to pressure CIA analysts to provide reports that would support the administration’s claims for war, Rumsfeld answered, “absolutely not.”

Kay emphatically backed the administration’s decision to invade and occupy Iraq. “I think the world is far safer with the disappearance and the removal of Saddam Hussein,” he said. “I think that when we have the complete record, you’re going to discover that after 1998, it became a regime that was totally corrupt. Individuals were out for their own protection, and in a world where we know others are seeking WMD, the likelihood at some point in the future of a seller and a buyer meeting up would have made that a far more dangerous country than even we anticipated.”

In an appearance on the NBC Today show Kay said that the Bush administration decision to go to war was “absolutely prudent.” Kay made a strong case from the point of view of the ruling class for Washington’s strategy of preemptively striking groups and governments like that of Saddam Hussein to prevent them from developing their potential to obtain nuclear, chemical, or biological weaponry.

“I think at the end of the inspection process,” Kay told NBC’s Today program, “we’ll paint a picture of an Iraq that was far more dangerous than even we thought it was before the war. It was a system collapsing. It was a country that had the capability in weapons-of-mass-destruction areas and in which terrorists, like ants to honey, were going after it.”

Stressing the urgent need to strengthen U.S. spy power, Kay pointed to the extent of

that they will be solved by improving the spying capabilities of the CIA and similar government agencies. The commission, he said, is “really set up to make sure the intelligence services provide as good a product as possible for future presidents as well.”

Bush also stressed the continuity in foreign policy between his administration and that of the previous president, William Clinton. He said that Congress backed the decision to go to war on the “same intelligence I had... The same information, by the way, that my predecessor had. And all of us made this judgment that Saddam Hussein needed to be removed.”

Bush: ‘I’m a war president’

Continued from front page

“inspector” in Iraq, have boosted the administration’s case for the U.S.-led war and occupation of that country. Bush’s interview was broadcast a few days after similar public appearances by U.S. secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld and CIA director George Tenet. (See article above)

Asked by interviewer Tim Russert how he would respond to critics who charge that the president decided to go to war on false pretenses, Bush answered, “But David Kay did report to the American people that Saddam had the capacity to make weapons.... Saddam Hussein was dangerous with the ability to make weapons.”

Bush also emphasized the need for “pre-emptive” action. “It is essential that when we see a threat, we deal with those threats before they become imminent,” he said. “It’s too late if they become imminent. It’s too late in this new kind of war.”

Questioned later whether the lives of 530 U.S. soldiers killed and many more wounded in Iraq so far are justified given that the occupying forces have not uncovered “weapons of mass destruction”—one of the administration’s main rationalizations for launching the assault on Baghdad—Bush said, “For the parents of the soldiers who have fallen who are listening, David Kay, the weapons inspector, came back and said, ‘In many ways Iraq was more dangerous than we thought.’ We are in a war against these terrorists.”

Bush added that when Kay was asked if the president had made the right decision to attack Iraq, he said yes. “In other words,” said Bush, “the evidence we have uncovered thus far says we had no choice.”

When asked about his appointment of a commission to investigate “intelligence flaws” leading up to the Iraq war, Bush acknowledged there were problems. He stated



Col. Yasushi Kiyota salutes U.S.-led forces in Samawa, Iraq. Ninety Japanese troops reported for duty February 7, in Tokyo’s first deployment in combat zone since 1945.

the development of nuclear capabilities in Iran and Libya. “I don’t think the problem of global proliferation of weapons technology of mass destruction is going to go away,” Kay told the committee.

“We’re also in a period in which we’ve had intelligence surprises in the proliferation area that go the other way,” he continued. “The case of Iran, a nuclear program that the Iranians admit was 18 years on, that we underestimated. And, in fact, we didn’t discover it. It was discovered by a group of Iranian dissidents outside the country who pointed the international community at the location.

“The Libyan program recently discovered was far more extensive than was assessed prior to that.”

Kay closed his opening remarks to the congressional committee by recalling that in the fall of 1962 “the combined estimate was unanimity in the intelligence service that there were no Soviet warheads in Cuba.”

“But the most important thing about that story,” he added, was that “immediate steps were taken to correct our inability to collect on the movement of nuclear material out of the Soviet Union to other places.”

Rumsfeld builds on Kay’s remarks

Rumsfeld made a similar point at his February 4 appearance before the Senate committee. “During my confirmation hearing before this committee, I was asked what would keep me up at night,” he noted. “And I answered, ‘Intelligence.’ I said that because the challenge facing the intelligence community today is truly difficult. Their task is to penetrate closed societies.”

Rumsfeld emphasized the continuity between the Clinton and Bush administration on Washington’s policy towards Iraq. He said that, “Congress, the national security teams of both the Clinton and Bush administrations looked at essentially the same intelligence and they came to similar conclusions” about toppling the Iraqi regime. “The Congress passed regime-change legislation in 1998,” he reminded the committee, adding later that “based on the same intelligence, you voted to support military action if the Iraqi regime failed to take that final opportunity to cooperate

with the United Nations.”

Rumsfeld said that “what we have learned thus far has not proven Saddam Hussein had what intelligence indicated and what we believed we had, but it also has not proven the opposite.... I’m convinced that the president of the United States did the right thing in Iraq; let there be no doubt. I came to my conclusions based on the intelligence we all saw, just as each of you made your judgments and cast your votes based on the same information.”

CIA director Tenet hit on similar themes in his speech at Georgetown University, organized at the request of the spy agency. “Intelligence has never been more important to the security of our country,” Tenet said.

The current administration is “rebuilding our intelligence—with powerful capabilities,” he emphasized. In a warning to opponents of the administration who have pressed for an investigation into the accuracy of U.S. spy reports, Tenet said, “politicized, haphazard evaluation, without the benefit of time and fact—may well result in an intelligence community that is damaged.”

Tenet stressed that testimony by Kay last fall had verified the agency’s assertions, including that Hussein was committed to developing missiles with ranges beyond the limits set by the UN; had held secret negotiations with north Korea to obtain advanced missile technology; and was without doubt trying to obtain nuclear weapons.

Tenet also used the occasion to defend the CIA’s record of so-called human intelligence capabilities, or spies on the ground. He boasted that a rebuilt “clandestine service” had resulted in the capture of: Khalid Sheik Muhammad, whom Washington accused of being the “mastermind” behind the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon; al Qaeda’s supposed “operational chief” responsible for organizing the bombing of the U.S. warship, USS *Cole*; and another leader of al Qaeda, who allegedly organized the bombing of a nightclub in Bali.

Rumsfeld praised Tenet’s remarks, saying, “He did something that I expressed hope he might do, and that was to talk a little bit about all the successes.”

Iowa peace activists summoned by grand jury

BY JOE SWANSON

DES MOINES, Iowa—“This is definitely an escalation on the part of the government’s war on dissent and clampdown on civil liberties,” wrote Brian Terrell in a February 3 open letter. Terrell, who is the executive director of the Catholic Peace Ministry in Des Moines, was referring to the subpoenas that he and fellow campaigners against the Iraq occupation, Patti McKee and Elton Davis, had received the day before, instructing them to appear before a federal grand jury on February 10.

Terrell’s subpoena, which refers only to “possible violations of federal criminal law,” was delivered by a detective from the Polk County sheriff’s office who reports on a day-to-day basis to the FBI Terrorism Task Force.

Terrell wrote that proceedings of the grand jury “will be behind closed doors. We may not have an attorney present. We have the right to plead the Fifth Amendment, refusing to answer questions that might incriminate us. The government, then, can offer us immunity from prosecu-

tion, in which case we will be obliged to answer under threat of contempt of court and could be imprisoned for the length of the grand jury session, 18 months, should we continue to refuse to answer.”

Stephen O’Maera, the U.S. attorney in the southern district of Iowa, told the *Des Moines Register* that he is not allowed to reveal the subject of the grand jury’s investigation. Grand juries traditionally function as fishing expeditions or political witch-hunts aimed at those challenging the actions and policies of the capitalist system.

The jury has also subpoenaed records of the Drake University chapter of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG). Over its history, the chapter has defended many social activists and partisans of the labor movement. Last year it added its name to the victorious defense campaign mounted by supporters of Róger Calero, an editor of the Spanish-language monthly magazine *Perspectiva Mundial* who was placed under threat of deportation by the government.

Sally Frank, a Drake University law professor and NLG member who has defended

several antiwar protesters in court, described the grand jury as “an attempt to put a chill on the peace movement in Iowa.”

Heidi Boghosian, a spokeswoman for the NLG’s New York office, said the subpoenas seek the identities of the officers of the Drake chapter in November 2003, the location of any local offices, and “any meeting agendas or annual reports.”

According to the *Register*, Boghosian said that federal lawyers had sent the Polk County attorney’s office an e-mail contact list used by organizers of demonstrations last November against Washington’s occupation of Iraq. Elton Davis, who is one of those subpoenaed, was arrested in a November 15 protest of 70 people outside the Iowa National Guard headquarters, while Terrell was quoted in a newspaper report of the action.

The Iowa Peace Network and other opponents of the grand jury’s actions have called a February 10 rally in defense of Terrell and the others at the U.S. Courthouse, at 123 E. Walnut Street in downtown Des Moines. The rally will begin at 12:15 pm.

Utah day of solidarity

Continued from front page

came from Colorado, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming, including several from the unionized Deer Creek mine just down the road from Co-Op.

Some 200 people took part in the afternoon rally, joining the mostly Mexican-born miners who have been fighting for their jobs, union representation by the UMWA, and dignity since September 22.

After warming up with coffee and Mexican hot chocolate, everyone got into their vehicles and drove 10 miles into the canyon to the entrance to CW Mining, also known as Co-Op. As the caravan arrived, people got out of their cars and joined Co-Op miners at the picket line. The bus parked in the middle of the road and its occupants stepped off. The Drill Team got in formation and marched shoulder-to-shoulder, chanting “I-L-W-U!” The Co-Op miners were clutching signs that read “UMWA” and “We want dignity and respect from the Kingstons,” referring to the company owners, and “We are tired of abuse,” both in Spanish. The miners began chanting in English and Spanish, “Miners united will never be defeated!” and “What time is it? Union time!” The longshore workers and striking miners went back and forth like this for a while, cheered on by their supporters.

Reporters from TV Channel 2 news from Salt Lake City were on the scene, as well as from Telemundo, the local daily *Emery County Progress*, and the University of Utah newspaper.

Several bosses came out of the mine and videotaped the crowd. The Co-Op miners got a camcorder from their picket trailer and videotaped the bosses.

At one point a coal truck coming from the mine was stopped dead in its tracks. As the bosses looked on, the Co-Op miners continued standing together, held their signs high, and chanted even louder.

After making their point so well that one of the bosses’ pickups had to head in reverse back up the hill, the crowd filed back into their vehicles and drove in an orderly procession to the school for a homemade Mexican meal.

Spouses of striking miners had made the dishes of rice, beans, turkey stew, tacos, salsa, and chips. Two local restaurants, Taco Time and El Salto, also donated food.

In the lunchroom, the air was filled with discussions among those who have been together since the beginning of this fight and those who are new to it. By the end of the meal, people who had just met each other were making pledges to stick with the fight until this strike is won.

The speakers program kicked off with Co-Op miner Domingo Olivas. Fellow miner and rally co-chair Ana Maria Sánchez introduced him as someone who “was away from us for a while, but is back with us now.” Olivas had to go to Colorado to work in a rock quarry early on in the strike to support his family. He has since returned to Utah and has become one of the leaders of the strike. He welcomed everyone who had “driven to the picket line of dignity,” and continued, “I thank you on behalf of all my brothers and sisters for the support

you give us today, and for providing us with the solidarity to continue this fight.” Olivas worked underground at the Co-Op mine for six years.

“To be on strike is nothing easy,” Olivas said. “All of our families are very much affected by this. Our moral courage goes up and down. But the reason why we are carrying out this sacrifice is not only for ourselves, it is also for our children and families. No longer should any worker go through the years of exploitation that we have endured. Never! We say to the Kingstons, ‘Enough!’”

“Each day that we spend at the picket line for six hours a day, we get bored, yes, but we fix our hearts and our eyes, full of determination to last one day longer than Co-Op! One day longer! One day longer than the polygamist Kingstons!”

The crowd shouted back “How long?,” “One day longer!” The miners have been on strike for nearly five months to protest unsafe working conditions and victimization of union supporters by the bosses, and to demand recognition of the UMWA as their bargaining agent.

“There are no guarantees,” Olivas continued. “But if you don’t fight, you don’t win. We as miners at Co-Op have endured decades of exploitation. Our time has come. We are future members of the

Minnesota unionists back Utah miners

BY BECKY ELLIS

ST. PAUL, Minnesota—“Where I come from, there was a big dividing line between the coal miners and the mine owners. The owners were merciless in trying to take advantage of us. And we had to do what was necessary to defend ourselves against them. That’s what my daddy taught me. He was involved in three different strikes in other towns. So it was easy for me to understand what the Co-Op miners have been going through and to understand how important it is to come to their defense. They are facing the same problems as I was facing and my family was facing in Virginia in the mining area we were living in.”

This was what Ben Miller, an organizer and field agent for the Lakes and Plains Regional Council of the Carpenters and Joiners union, told the audience of 55 unionists and supporters at a February 6 meeting here to back coal miners on strike at the Co-Op mine in Huntington, Utah. The event was hosted by United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 789 at its union hall.

Miller visited the miners at the end of January to get a firsthand feel for their four-and-a-half-month union-organizing struggle and to deliver \$500 that had been collected in Minnesota.

Originally from the coalfields in southwest Virginia, Miller worked for three years in the 1960s at a coal mine owned by the Pittston coal company. Miller’s father was a member of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) for 55 years and worked 33 years in an underground coal mine.

“One thing I learned is that we had to face common problems together,” Miller



Militant/José Aravena

February 7 rally in Huntington, Utah, to back striking Co-Op miners drew mine workers and other supporters from throughout the region.

UMWA. We will win!”

Lou Shelley, president of UMWA Local 1759 at the Deer Creek underground coal mine just a few miles down the road from Co-Op, addressed the crowd. “The struggle against management and the op-

pression they bring is nothing new to the UMWA,” he said. “When I started working in the coal mines in 1979 there were several union mines in the state. Right now we only have one active mine that has UMWA

Continued on Page 10

said of his experience in the mines, “When miners come out of the mine, they all have the same color. Whatever you look like or your country of birth, you should have the same protections as any other miner.”

The 75 striking miners at the Co-Op mine, most of them Mexican immigrants, were fired September 22 for protesting unsafe practices by the bosses on the job, defending a co-worker the company victimized for demanding safe working conditions, and for trying to win union recognition for the UMWA at the mine. With the union’s help, they have since organized an unfair labor practices strike and have been picketing the mine every day.

Miller told the meeting about the determination he discovered in the miners. “They have the glow in their eyes,” he said. “They don’t act like victims. They don’t seem tired after staffing the picket line for four months.” He said that he was impressed by the UMWA being committed to fight this to the end. He explained some of the conditions the miners face—no bathrooms for women miners, poor training, and hazardous conditions in the mine.

Miller then showed a video he had made in Utah of interviews with the strikers.

After the video presentation, UFCW Local 789 organizer Bernie Hesse read a message from the Co-Op miners to the meeting.

“Please give your brothers and sisters warm greetings from the Co-Op miners in Huntington, Utah,” the message read. “We wish you good luck with your meeting tonight. We will want to get a report on what happened so we can report this to the solidarity rally we are having in Huntington,

Utah, tomorrow.

“We are grateful for the support that you have provided to us. Brother Ben Miller delivered the funds you collected when he visited here.

“We know that you also have had some fights and that inspires us to continue on. ¡Sí, se puede! Together we are going to win this strike and savor the victory with all of you.”

The St. Paul meeting also sent greetings to the miners, which read in part:

“We know that ‘An injury to one is an injury to all’ is more than a slogan. We know that when one employer abuses workers and forces them into dangerous conditions, other employers will do the same, whether it is at another coal mine in Utah or a food processing plant in Minnesota. The bosses hope to divide us and isolate us. However, for us solidarity is a necessity.... We are with you until victory. Yes, together we can do it. ¡Sí, se puede!”

Hesse ended the meeting by urging everyone to come back to the local hall Monday afternoon for a meeting to begin organizing ongoing support for the Co-Op miners.

Among those in attendance were members of the UFCW, United Auto Workers, International Association of Machinists, and United Transportation Union, two state AFL-CIO officials, students from the University of Minnesota, farm workers, and women organizing the April 25 National March for Choice. A collection at the meeting raised \$600 to send to the strikers. Several people said they would go back to their union locals to get resolutions of support and financial contributions.

Skilled volunteers help finish SWP HQ construction

BY NORTON SANDLER

NEW YORK—“We received an impressive response to our appeal for skilled construction workers, enabling us to keep right on schedule for completion of the project,” said Paul Mailhot, an organizer of the construction crew building the national office of the Socialist Workers Party, the newsroom of the *Militant* and the Spanish-language monthly *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the New York Pathfinder bookstore—all together on the same floor.

“Within a couple of days after beginning an intensive effort to reinforce the work crew with others who have the electrical and woodworking skills we especially needed in the homestretch of the construction, we had volunteers fly or drive to New York from Seattle, Atlanta, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Houston, and Hilo, Hawaii,” said Mailhot.

“With this infusion of skilled help, we have been able to hang all of the 45 commercial light fixtures we purchased, and

assemble and finish the kitchen cabinetry and bookstore shelves that a volunteer prefabricated and drove to New York,” Mailhot continued. “We’ve also begun work on bookshelves and cabinets for the *Militant* newsroom and a coat closet for the entryway. Carpet will begin to be laid February 13.” Two days later the first items will be moved into the new newsroom from its current temporary location, he added. “We’ll go from there to setting up the bookstore and the SWP National Office a week later.”

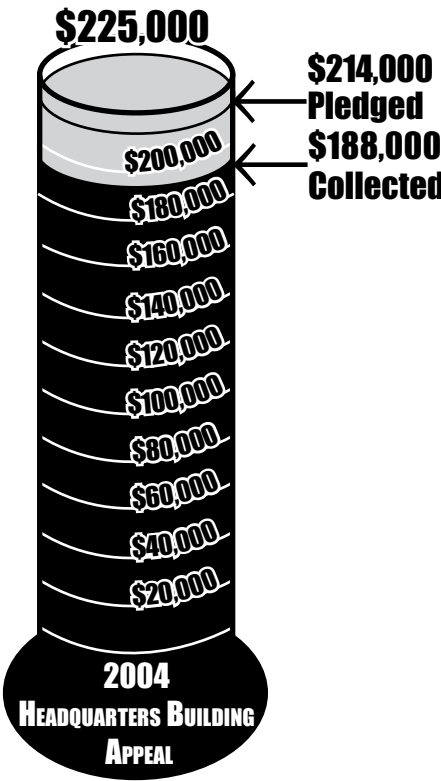
The new international headquarters of the communist movement is located in the heart of New York’s garment district. The construction project began at the turn of the year and will be completed in time for a grand opening public meeting set for Sunday, February 29. (See front-page ad.) The day before, volunteers from around the world will put the finishing touches on the move and prepare the premises for the public event.

The project is funded by the 2004

Headquarters Building Appeal that lasts through February. As this issue goes to press, \$214,000 has been pledged towards the goal of \$225,000, with \$188,000 collected. Backers of the fund-raising effort are urged to continue reaching out to potential new contributors right up to the end.

Because of the rapid collection of pledges, project organizers have been able to pay for construction materials, furniture, and moving expenses in a way that will ensure a smooth transition to the new premises. The plan includes installing double-pane glass windows for the entire floor, resulting in a substantial savings on air conditioning and heating bills and dramatically cutting down the street noise from this busy intersection of midtown Manhattan.

Final payments can be hand-delivered in New York during the February 28–29 Red Weekend. Contributions should be made out to the 2004 Headquarters Building Appeal and sent c/o SWP National Office, 306 W. 37th St., 10th floor, New York, NY 10018.



How July 26 Movement organized its cadre to topple U.S.-backed tyranny in Cuba

‘Circular no. 1’ of the revolutionary leadership set membership norms

Published below is a selection from *Aldabonazo: Inside the Cuban Revolutionary Underground, 1952–58* by Armando Hart, a new book by Pathfinder Press that was published in late January in both English and Spanish editions.

Hart was a central organizer of the urban underground and is one of the historic leaders of the Cuban Revolution.

This account of the struggle to overthrow the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship led by the July 26 Movement and the Rebel Army, headed by Fidel Castro, is now accessible for the first time ever to English-speaking readers. It recounts the events from the perspective of revolutionary cadres organizing in the cities.

The *Militant* is publishing a series of selections from the book. Reprinted below is *Circular no. 1*, an internal document issued by the July 26 Movement in late 1957. It establishes the norms of membership that were necessary in order for the movement to lead working people in getting the Yankee boot off their necks and to carry forward a revolutionary transformation of all of Cuban society. It also discusses the stance and orientation of the July 26 Movement in relation to other groups opposed to the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista.

The revolutionary war culminated in a popular insurrection leading to the overthrow of the dictatorship on Jan. 1, 1959. Workers and farmers took political power and opened the door to the first socialist revolution in the Americas. Copyright © 2004 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission.



Compañero:

This circular is addressed to you, as one who is giving all your efforts to the redemption of Cuba. Read it over several times. Analyze carefully all the matters raised in it. The success of the Movement depends to a great degree on how well each of us interprets and complies with it.

1. Member and sympathizer

The first thing to be settled is what defines membership in the July 26 Movement. This is necessary because the enormous sympathy for the Movement has at times caused us to lose sight of the dividing line between member and sympathizer. We must learn to situate ourselves with regard to everyone around us, in order to better take advantage of our energies and most effectively channel the sympathy that exists for the July 26 Movement.

A member is one who abides by the discipline of the organization, belongs to one of its bodies, and is willing to make the greatest sacrifices to achieve the revolutionary objectives, i.e., who feels deeply the revolutionary ideals for which he's sworn "Freedom or death" to achieve. A sympathizer is one who generally does what's right, but for one reason or another does not belong to a unit of the Movement and has not sworn "Freedom or death." Nevertheless he collaborates with the revolution through the July 26 Movement, without being tied to



Cuba's Council of State Office of Historical Affairs Archives

July 26 Movement leaders at meeting in Sierra Maestra, February 1957. Left to right: Frank País, Faustino Pérez, Raúl Castro, Fidel Castro, Armando Hart, Universo Sánchez.

its discipline. This circular is addressed to the Movement's members.

2. Your responsibility

The July 26 Movement already has an enormous responsibility toward the people. For that reason the responsibility of each member has increased enormously and will increase even more to the degree that our strength grows. It will increase in the coming months when the tyranny is overthrown by the weight of our actions.

The responsibility of the national, provincial, and municipal leaders is therefore also immense. Precisely for that reason we are addressing you, a member of the July 26 Movement, to jointly face the situation and confront the events. We will be able to lead these events to Cuba's benefit only if we are successful in creating a revolutionary membership firmly disciplined in democratic ideals. That is our first concern. This should therefore be the framework with which you analyze this letter, and we would like it to be the primary guideline you keep in mind.

3. Relations with other organizations

All of us confront daily the much discussed question of the unity of the opposition. The Movement has always been willing to agree to any formula of unity that starts with the people as the basic element of a strategy of struggle. But a more concrete answer must be given as to what formula of unity we wish to see. Nobody has analyzed this with such precision as the July 26 Movement, and in this regard each member should refer to the [June 1957] Manifesto of the Sierra Maestra, published in newspapers and magazines, and to the article "Our Formula for Unity" that appeared in *Revolución*. These documents go over the Movement's definitive stance regarding other opposition organizations. Our position is summarized as follows:

a) We will respect any formula for unity that takes the civic institutions as its axis.

These must assume the main responsibility for such unity and for the future provisional government.

b) We are willing to work jointly with any revolutionary sector on the basis of a specific action considered useful to the process.

We are willing to cooperate with any effort, but always based on the specific actions to be carried out.

c) We call on workers belonging to all parties, as well as those belonging to none, to create strike committees in their workplaces or industrial sectors with a specific objective: to prepare the strike. We call on shopkeepers, industrialists, professionals, etc., belonging to all parties or none to work in the Civic Resistance Movement. Workers who are members of the Movement should await specific instructions in order to form strike committees.

4. The great question asked of us

Every member of the July 26 Movement is obliged today to answer the following question: What is the Movement aiming for? Two years ago this question was discussed by only a relatively small number of Cubans. Now it has become a national issue. Even internationally, quite a few commentators on the Cuban situation have posed this question.

It would be absurd for us to answer this in detail in an internal circular, but it is essential to have a common idea of how to respond to this question. Besides, as with every basic theoretical question, it takes us directly to the question of what each one of us should do. Plus things are done better when we know why we are doing them. We will come to that, but we have to start from an analysis of what we have done and achieved. Only by doing this will we be able to know what the July 26 Movement is really aiming at.

a) Prior to November 30 and the landing of the *Granma*, we were a sector made up of a goodly number of Cubans who set for themselves the task of initiating the revolution in order to help bring about the fall of Batista and penetrate all layers of the population in an organized way. Although we always enjoyed general sympathy, it was not until the Sierra Maestra, as well as the sabotage and agitation, that cadres of an organization began to emerge on the national scene capable of channeling all the disparate efforts, beginning to create the necessary conditions for the complete development of the revolution. After eight months we constitute the opposition to the regime. The power of the July 26 Movement's actions has been such that today it appears on the Cuban scene as the only instrument capable of conquering freedom. It's not that we consider ourselves the only organization, but we have the enormous historical responsibility of guiding revolutionary action with an ap-

propriate strategy to channel all sincere impulses and efforts.

Would we have fulfilled our objective had our actions and the amount of blood spilled served only to turn us into an anti-Batista movement? No, the moment demands of us something more than agitation and sabotage. We are committed to bringing about the fall of the tyranny.

Such a thing can be achieved only with a more and more firmly disciplined organization in terms of its final aims, and with an appropriate strategy for the immediate objective of a general work stoppage and armed insurrection.

And what does the revolutionary organization known as the July 26 Movement seek after the fall of the tyrant? It seeks to set the Cuban people in motion behind a program of political cleansing, economic demands, and social justice to make democracy possible. To make the Cuban people an organized and disciplined force capable of assuring its own rights and its own democracy.

In short, to consolidate the Cuban nation's revolutionary instrument, which is what the July 26 Movement is and aspires to continue being.

b) The only reason for Cuba's grave historical crisis is precisely that we always lacked a revolutionary instrument capable of facing up to events decisively once the immediate obstacle—first the existence of Cuba as a colony and then the Machado tyranny—had been eliminated. . . .

In summary, the July 26 Movement has two immediate objectives:

a) To overthrow Batista through popular action. This is not the same as just overthrowing him.

b) To consolidate the revolutionary instrument to ensure the fulfillment of the revolution's program, also through popular action. This is not the same as simply creating a new party.

5. Our practical work with a view to that noble immediate objective

a) To achieve the first objective we must put into practice a plan that, under current conditions, leads us to a *general work stoppage*. Every member, through the responsible persons and committees, will receive instructions on their particular tasks.

b) To achieve the second objective we must act as follows:

1st. Determine precisely the general aspects of our program, which have already been put forward several times.

2nd. Ensure the discipline of all cadres and leaders of the organization.

3rd. Study beforehand how we are going to react to each and every development.

Every member must remain firmly disciplined in fulfilling their functions. Today more than ever, members must carefully follow instructions. Each body must plan what it should do with regard to them.

The signs of the regime's final collapse are already visible. Its death sentence has already been dictated. We will know how to take advantage, for the benefit of Cuba, of the formidable popular movement born of the rebelliousness of our youth. Once more the country is faced with a great opportunity. All the merits of the old politics are gone. Will we be capable of fulfilling the role destiny is placing in our hands? In order to do so we require organization and discipline.

The members of the July 26 Movement will understand this truth.

The municipal, provincial, and national leaders must understand it even better. We are all marching toward victory, which will be nothing other than completing the cycle begun by Agramonte and Martí in colonial times: to create the great nation we all have dreamed of.

Freedom or death!

National Directorate
No sugar harvest with Batista!

New from
Pathfinder

Aldabonazo: Inside the Cuban Revolutionary Underground, 1952–58

by Armando Hart



In this firsthand account by one of the historic leaders of the Cuban Revolution, we meet many of the men and women who in the 1950s led the urban underground in the fight against the brutal U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. Together with their comrades-in-arms of the Rebel Army, they not only brought down the tyranny, their revolutionary actions and example worldwide changed the history of the 20th century—and the century to come. **Now ready for shipment! \$25.00**

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13th Havana Book Fair

Continued from front page

phlets—including more than 1,000 newly published titles—are on sale here. Since 2001 the annual fair has been expanded into an island-wide event. In 2002, in addition to the international event in Havana, Cuban publishers took the fair to 15 cities. Last year the book fair traveled to 30 cities in all, and this year it will take place in 34 towns and cities. When the fair closes in Havana February 15, it will travel to the western, central, and eastern regions of the country over the following three weeks.

Some 30 Cuban publishers and 60 from abroad are represented at the fair this year, according to organizers. The largest numbers of publishing houses and cultural figures are from Spain, Mexico, and Germany. Also here are publishers from Venezuela, Ecuador, Argentina, France, Angola, Puerto Rico, and the West Indies, among others. The authors featured range from U.S. writer Alice Walker and German playwright Bertolt Brecht to previously unpublished young Cuban authors, as well as literary giants from Honoré de Balzac to Henry James.

This year's fair is dedicated to distinguished Cuban poet Carilda Oliver Labra.

'Aldabonazo' by Armando Hart

Among the new titles being launched at public meetings during the fair this year is a book by one of the small handful of living historic leaders of the Cuban Revolution, Armando Hart.

The book, *Aldabonazo: Inside the Cuban Revolutionary Underground, 1952–58—A Participant's Account*, has just been published simultaneously in both English and Spanish editions by Pathfinder Press. Hart tells the story of the men and women in cities across Cuba who, following the March 1952 military coup by Fulgencio Batista, risked their lives in dangerous clandestine actions. With the launching of the revolutionary war in Cuba's Sierra Maestra mountains at the end of 1956, the urban underground, of which Hart was a central leader,

helped mobilize working people to support the Rebel Army, including the victorious island-wide general strike and insurrection in January 1959 that overturned the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship and opened the socialist revolution in the Americas.

Over the more than four decades since that triumph, Armando Hart has been a leader of the revolutionary government, serving as minister of education and minister of culture, as well as a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the book and author of the publisher's preface, appeared on the morning TV program *Buenos Días*, to promote *Aldabonazo*. Waters was also interviewed by Radio Havana Cuba as well as by the Cuban news agency AIN, which published a February 6 story highlighting *Aldabonazo*.

During the interviews, Waters also spoke about another just-published Pathfinder title being featured at the book fair, *Rebelión Teamster*. The book is the first-ever Spanish translation of *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs. *Rebelión Teamster* tells the story of the strikes and organizing campaigns that transformed the labor movement throughout the Upper Midwest in the mid-1930s and helped pave the way for the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations as a militant social movement. A third new Pathfinder title at this year's Havana book fair is the French-language translation of *Their Trotsky and Ours* by Jack Barnes.

These and many other of Pathfinder's more than 400 titles on revolutionary working-class politics are on display at the booth sponsored by the Pathfinder Bookshop in London. The bookstand is staffed by an international team of volunteers from the United Kingdom, Canada, Iceland, New Zealand, and Sweden. Pathfinder has taken part in every Havana book fair since 1986.

Sabotage by German government fails

At the close of last year's fair, organizers announced that Germany would be

the country of honor at the 2004 Havana International Book Fair. In August, however, the Social Democratic-Green Party government in Berlin declared that it was withdrawing from official participation in the event.

This move was one of a series of actions taken by European imperialist powers against Cuba on the pretext of protesting alleged violations of the human rights of "dissidents" by the revolutionary government. German officials condemned Cuba for the trials, sentencing, and jailing of 75 opponents of the revolution convicted in March 2003 for collaborating with U.S. government officials in Washington's 45-year-long drive to undermine and overthrow the Cuban Revolution. Berlin also denounced the execution of three Cubans convicted of the armed hijacking of a ferry loaded with passengers.

At the ceremony inaugurating the book fair, these actions by Berlin were described by Dietmar Koschmieder of the May 8 Publishing House, who spoke on behalf of German publishers participating in the fair, and by Reinhard Thiele of the German solidarity network Cuba Si. Hoping to isolate Cuba, Berlin reneged on its commitment to provide some 55,000 euros to subsidize German publishers renting display space at the event.

In his remarks, Thiele made it clear that some of the 37 publishers and 40 prominent literary and musical figures from Germany participating in the fair joined in Berlin's



Militant/Jonathan Silberman

Joe Young, volunteering at Pathfinder booth February 8 at Havana book fair, shows a visitor *Rebelión Teamster*—the Spanish-language edition of *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs—one of the new titles presented there.

criticism of the actions taken by the Cuban government. They disagreed with the boycott campaign, however, and had organized the funds to pay for the facilities needed.

"The German government argues that Cuba has made errors in defending itself. That may be true," Thiele said, "but as Lenin stated, what is important is not making errors but drawing the correct conclusions from these errors."

Thiele approvingly quoted one of the participants from Germany who said he didn't care what Washington's position was, nor Berlin's, so long as there was money to be made in Havana.

Iroel Sánchez, president of the Cuban Book Institute and chair of the fair's organizing committee, said at the opening ceremony that this attempt to "carry out a cultural blockade has failed." He pointed to the massive popular character of the book fair, calling it "a festival of freedom." The fair, he said, is an example of the major expansion of access to education and culture that Cuba's socialist revolution has made possible.

Sánchez highlighted the breadth of the cultural events that will take place during the fair. These include dozens of book launchings, panel discussions, nonstop poetry readings, special events at the Children's Pavilion, used book sales, film showings, theater and musical performances, and art exhibits, held both on the fair grounds and at venues across Havana.

Martin Koppel and Mary-Alice Waters contributed to this article.

U.S. Army to recruit 30,000 as it reorganizes

BY PATRICK O'NEILL

Announcing the recruitment of an extra 30,000 soldiers, U.S. Army Chief of Staff Peter Schoomaker told a congressional hearing January 29 that the short-term expansion would not lead back to a bloated "Cold War-type" army. Rather, he said, it would fit into Washington's ongoing bipartisan drive to develop "an Army that's more lethal, more agile, [and] more capable of meeting the current and future operating environment."

Schoomaker, who was plucked from retirement in the middle of last year and promoted to the army's top job over more senior generals, is one of the White House's point men in this restructuring of the U.S. armed forces. A former head of Special Operations Forces, he has supported the push by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld and other officials to forge a military capable of defending and enforcing the interests of U.S. imperialism worldwide.

The radical changes now under way were given extra steam by the successful invasion of Iraq by a U.S. force that was modest in size and equipment compared with the Gulf War armies of a decade earlier.

Among the changes under way are a shift

of forces from Western to Eastern Europe and Central Asia; the greater use of elite military units such as the Navy Seals or the Delta Force; and the training of virtually all military personnel as "riflemen."

Stop-gap measures

Another stopgap measure already in place is the four- to six-month extension of soldiers' tours of duty. These ongoing "stop-loss" orders, in military jargon, have to date increased the army's strength to 493,000—13,000 more than the number officially authorized by Congress. The 30,000 extra troops would be on top of this expanded number.

According to the *Washington Post*, Schoomaker said that the additional troops would be limited to four years, "so the service could sustain deployments in Iraq and Afghanistan, currently more than 130,000 troops, as the Army restructures 10 active-duty divisions and much of its reserve and National Guard forces."

Schoomaker argued against congressional representatives who had called for permanently increasing the army's strength by 40,000 troops. Such a proposal, he said, "puts readiness at risk, it puts training at risk, it puts modernization at risk, it puts transformation at risk—and that's why I'm resisting it."

U.S. officials explained that the army is stretched by the demands of rotating a complete set of fresh forces into Iraq and Afghanistan this year—a total of 250,000 military personnel. Similar rotations are planned in 2005 and 2006.

Speaking before Congress's Armed Forces Committee, the army chief described the military's reorganization as "the biggest internal

restructuring we've done in 50 years." He warned that "it must be done to make us relevant and to allow us to meet the real threat to the United States."

An official told reporters after Schoomaker's remarks, "One of the advantages of being an Army at war is that war focuses us."

The U.S. Army's 10 active-duty divisions—each of which has 10,000 to 18,000 soldiers—will be made more interchangeable, and tailored to operate more closely with air force, naval, and marine corps units, Schoomaker said.

"One example of this," wrote James Garamone of the American Forces Information Services, "is that divisions will lose their air defense artillery." With U.S. air supremacy, Garamone added, "It has been years since an American soldier had to worry about being killed by a bomb dropped by an adversary.... Army assets will be concerned mostly with incoming ballistic and cruise missiles."

Some 39 field artillery and air defense battalions—each involving between 500 and 900 soldiers—will be converted into military police, light infantry, and civil affairs units.

Resources will be shifted from the headquarters of each division, Schoomaker said, down to the commanders of brigades.

"Schoomaker's restructuring plan calls for an increase in the active-duty combat brigades from 33 to 48, creating more versatile units available for rapid overseas deployment," reported the *Post*. "Each new brigade will be more self-sustaining and have more combat power than current brigades, enabling the Defense Department to respond to smaller-scale contingencies by deploying a brigade of 5,000 soldiers, instead of a much larger division."

Five brigades will be based on the Stryker assault vehicle, a multi-wheeled alternative to the heavier-armed but slower moving tank.



As part of reorganization of its forces, U.S. Army brass has outfitted five brigades with Stryker assault vehicle (above).

Help fund 'Militant' reporting trip to Cuba

Róger Calero and Martín Koppel, editors of *Perspectiva Mundial*, Alex Alvarado, a *Militant* correspondent from Miami, and Mary-Alice Waters, editor of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist* are among the *Militant*/PM reporters currently in Cuba. The article above by these reporters on the opening days of the international book fair in Havana will be followed by further coverage on this cultural "festival of freedom" and on other political developments in Cuba. The fruits of such reporting teams include the two-part series on the radical reorganization of Cuba's sugar industry published in the previous two issues.

The costs of this reporting trip amount to \$16,000. Please send your contribution to the *Militant* at the address on page 2 and earmark it "Travel Fund."

Mandela defends freedom fighters in '63 trial

Habla Nelson Mandela, a Spanish-language collection of speeches by the leader of the fight to end white-minority rule in South Africa, makes three of his historically important talks and writings available for Spanish-speaking audience. On Oct. 9, 1963, the trial of 10 leaders of the Congress Alliance of South Africa began in a courtroom in the town of Rivonia. Among those charged with planning and attempting to overthrow the white-minority government was Mandela. They were charged with 193 acts of sabotage carried out by individuals recruited by the accused in their capacity as members of the High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the military wing of the African National Congress. During the trial, Mandela, who was Umkhonto's first commander-in-chief, chose not to submit evidence in his defense



Mandela (at left) during visit to headquarters of Algerian Armed Forces in 1962

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

or to be cross-examined, but only to make a statement.

Below are excerpts from Mandela's statement, which appears in its entirety in the final section of *Habla Nelson Mandela*, entitled *El juicio de Rivonia* (The Rivonia Trial.) Copyright © 1986 by Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Bracketed text is added by the *Militant*.



BY NELSON MANDELA

At the outset, I want to say that the suggestion made by the State in its opening

that the struggle in South Africa is under the influence of foreigners or communists is wholly incorrect. I have done whatever I did, both as an individual and as a leader of my people, because of my experience in South Africa and my own proudly felt African background, and not because of what any outsider might have said....

Having said this, I must deal immediately and at some length with the question of violence. Some of the things so far told to the court are true and some are untrue. I do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation, and oppression of my people by the Whites.

I admit immediately that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkhonto we Sizwe, and that I played a prominent role in its affairs until I was arrested in August 1962....

I deny that Umkhonto was responsible for a number of acts which clearly fell outside the policy of the organisation, and which have been charged in the indictment against us....

I have already mentioned that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkhonto. I, and the others who started the organization, did so for two reasons. Firstly, we believed that as a result of gov-

ernment policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalize and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country which is not produced even by war. Secondly, we felt that without violence there would be no way open to African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the government. We chose to defy the law. We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and then the government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence.

But the violence which we chose to adopt was not terrorism. We who formed Umkhonto were all members of the African National Congress, and had behind us the ANC tradition of non-violence and negotiation as a means of solving political disputes. We believe that South Africa belongs to all the people who live in it, and not to one group, be it black or white....

The African National Congress was

formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people which had been seriously curtailed by the South Africa Act, and which were then being threatened by the Native Land Act. For thirty-seven years—that is, until 1949—it adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle. It put forward demands and resolutions; it sent delegations to the government in the belief that African grievances could be settled through peaceful discussion and that Africans could advance gradually to full political rights. But White government remained unmoved, and the rights of Africans became less instead of becoming greater....

Even after 1949, the ANC remained determined to avoid violence. At this time, however, there was a change from the strictly constitutional means of protest which had been employed in the past. The change was embodied in a decision which was taken to protest against apartheid legislation by peaceful, but unlawful, demonstrations against certain laws. Pursuant to this policy the ANC launched the Defiance Campaign, in which I was placed in charge of volunteers. This campaign was based on the principles of passive resistance. More than 8,500 people defied apartheid laws and went to jail. Yet there was not a single instance of violence in the course of this campaign on the part of any defier. I and 19 colleagues were convicted for the role which we played in organizing the campaign, but our sentences were suspended mainly because the Judge found that discipline and non-violence had been stressed throughout. This was the time when the volunteer section of the ANC was established, and when the word 'Amadelakufa' [those who are prepared to make sacrifices] was first used: this was the time when the volunteers were asked to take a pledge to uphold certain principles. Evidence dealing with volunteers and their pledges has been introduced into this case, but completely out of context. The volunteers were not, and are not, the soldiers of a black army pledged to fight a civil war against the whites. They were, and are, dedicated workers who are prepared to lead campaigns initiated by the ANC to distribute leaflets, to organise strikes, or do whatever the particular campaign required. They are called volunteers because they volunteer to face the penalties of imprisonment and whipping which are now prescribed by the legislature for such acts.

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February

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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Read it and retch—David Shaw, a *Los Angeles Times* staff writer, crafted an article in the



Harry Ring

paper's food section. His subject was the tradition of Death Row inmates being offered a meal of choice on the eve of execution. That is, Shaw notes, a meal "within reason."

We keep learning—Shaw reports that the Texas "criminal justice" department has stopped

listing last dinners on its web site. But, as a solid plug, he adds that a former Texas inmate who prepared last-dinner meals has written a menu cookbook. There we learn—for the very first time—that the meal of choice consists of anything available that night in the prison cafeteria!

Swine of the week—A final note on the last dinner: Shaw writes that a few listed on the web site expressed a social response to the offered last dinner. For instance, Odell Barnes Jr. declared that all he wanted was "Justice equality and world peace." Shaw sneered: "Given that these men were all convicted murderers, you could be forgiven for thinking that their humanitarian impulses

arrived a bit late in life."

Plus tenacious fighters—"The [U.S.] Navy came and went from this Puerto Rican island [of Vieques]. Few developers have landed. Today, it remains isolated and serene, brimming over with lush greenery, clean beaches and underwater surprises." — Travel section, *Los Angeles Times*.

Judge likes sludge?—The Kentucky Martin County coal company was fined for permitting some 306 million gallons of coal sludge to spill into waterways of eastern Kentucky and West Virginia. The sludge was the consistency of wet cement. Irwin Schroeder, an administrative judge of the federal Mine Safety and Health Review Commission,

reviewed the very modest \$55,000 fine and reduced it to \$5,500.

Food stamps?—"Indiana—House minority leader Brian Bosma is trying to get a salary increase for judges and legislators. Bosma said he isn't worried about the state lawmakers who earn an average of \$37,210. He says the real concern is trial judges, whose \$90,000 base salary ranks among the lowest in the USA." — News item.

They have different genes?—An extensive survey in the United Kingdom found that manual workers die earlier—as much as 20 years—than do professional and managerial folks. A grim note—In the Tucson, Arizona,

area, 137 homeless people died in the streets, or in extreme poverty in a 12-month period. In the same previous period, the number was 87.

Pretty damn sensitive—A reader described an item from the newsletter of Gush Shalom, an Israeli peace movement. It reported that a peace activist was taken into custody because she sprayed a sentence on a wall separating Arabs from Jews in Abu Dis, a suburb of Jerusalem. Angela Gottfried was scooped up by border guards for writing on the wall, "Welcome to Abu Dis Ghetto." At the police station, she was told, "This is incitement. If you say 'ghetto,' you say we're Nazis."

Belgian magazine reviews 'Black Music,' 'John Coltrane'

Reprinted below is a review of *Black Music, White Business* and *John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution of the 1960s* that appeared in the Fall 2003 issue of the Belgian review *Jazz Around*. The companion works by historian Frank Kofsky are published by Pathfinder Press.



Billie Holiday was among leading jazz artists cheated out of royalties or forced to sign exclusive contracts with recording studios.

You own the music and we make it

1946. Charlie Parker lives in Los Angeles, trapped in drugs, alcohol, and nervous depression. By court order he is committed to the Camarillo State Hospital for six months. In the hospital psychiatric ward the saxophonist becomes increasingly restive and threatens to escape—a situation that worries Ross Russell, the boss of Dial Records, the record company whose raison d'être is precisely to record Parker's albums. Russell starts digging through the

California mental hygiene code. He finds the solution—with the approval of a special judicial commission, a committed patient may be released into the custody of an approved state resident. Russell will be this person, enabling him to get the musician discharged? in exchange for a few contractual guarantees: the renewal of Parker's completely exclusive contract with Dial. Russell has cleverly taken advantage of the situation. Parker's hands are tied.

This is one of the numerous and quite instructive tales scattered through *Black Music, White Business*, the book by Frank Kofsky published by Pathfinder in 1998. Along with *John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution of the 1960s*, this book in fact constitutes the revised new edition of the famous *Black Nationalism and the Revolution in Music*, published by the same Kofsky in 1970. The author, who died in 1997, had long planned to bring the book up to date. This wasn't done until 1996, but in the form of two books. That made it possible for this partisan American specialist to take up both the political economy of jazz and the appearance of Black vanguard jazz in the social context of the sixties. In this manner, Kofsky resolutely takes a different view from most critics, who are capable of recognizing the talent of Black jazzmen, but are suddenly blind when the question of the economic and social realities of these same musicians in the postwar period arises.

Black Music, White Business is based on the slogan of Archie Shepp, "You" (that is, the whites—editor) "own the music and we" (the Blacks—editor) "make it." In order to complete his picture of a commercial sphere wholly in the hands of whites (producers, distributors, theater and club directors and critics), the author uses a framework of analysis of Marxist inspiration that divides

the work into four chapters, whose titles require no explanation:

"Alienation," "Underemployment and contempt," "Powerlessness and exploitation," and "Ideological mystification." Each of these very well documented chapters shows how for more than twenty years the fate of a definitely revolutionary music was largely out of the hands of those who created it.

John Coltrane

In *John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution* Frank Kofsky goes farther in his analysis, convinced that strong convictions and objectivity are not mutually exclusive. Both may be used simultaneously in order to complete an investigation. Doubtlessly a delicate relationship, but one that is responsible for the strength of this book. The author defends the thesis that the new Black music of the sixties expresses all the resentment of the ghettos and is in fact the resonant illustration of the life of Blacks in an urban environment. The

jazz vanguard of the time is therefore not purely esthetic. Unconsciously, it is also a form of artistic transformation, which finds its roots in this social reality.

Finally, it should be noted that this book contains the famous interview of John Coltrane done by Kofsky in the back seat of a car, one year before the saxophonist's death, as well as interviews of McCoy Tyner and Elvin Jones.

KOFSKY Frank, *Black Music, White Business*—Illuminating the History and Political Economy of Jazz, Pathfinder Press, New York, 1998, 165 pages plus 8 pages of photos. Around 17.90 euros (ISBN 0-87348-859-8)

KOFSKY Frank, *John Coltrane and the Jazz Revolution of the 1960s*, Pathfinder Press, New York, 1998, 500 pages plus 16 pages of photos. Around 25.90 euros (ISBN 0-87348-857-1)

Available in bookstores.

For information: Amis de Pathfinder in Belgium (Tel./Fax: 03/272.16.15) Denis Dargent

—25 AND 50 YEARS AGO—



February 23, 1979

TEHRAN—Sunday, February 11, saw the culmination of the insurrection in Iran. An uprising of unprecedented proportions overthrew the government of the Pahlavi monarch.

The death knell of the shah's regime began when the army found itself incapable of keeping exiled religious leader Ayatollah Khomeini out of the country. The February 1 arrival of Khomeini, who is a symbol of the nationalist struggle here, accelerated the upsurge.

Workers had already been on a general strike for nearly 100 days.

Peasants had seized farm machinery, livestock, and some land.

The police stations were vacated in the villages.

The event that directly led to the insurrection in Tehran was the February 8 demonstration of more than 1 million called by Khomeini to support Mehdi Bazargan, his appointed prime minister in the new provisional government.

Hundreds of airmen from the Doshan Tappeh air base marched in uniform in their own contingents.

In the face of continued protests by the airmen and rapidly crumbling discipline on the air base, the elite troops of the Royal Guard were sent to attack Doshan Tappeh February 9 and prevent the airmen's example from spreading.

The battle of Doshan Tappeh began what developed into a nationwide uprising. Backed by the solidarity of the Tehran people, the airmen crushed the Royal Guard invasion.

While the airmen had been in the forefront of the opposition in the armed forces, the next three days revealed that the entire army was disintegrating. The horror of shooting one's brothers and sisters, the powerful appeal of the mammoth demonstrations against the shah, and the

nationwide general strike had all had an impact on the soldiers.



February 22, 1954

The efforts of the Los Angeles Hearst press to incite lynch violence against the Mexican community must be stopped in its tracks. Their manufactured "crime wave" with smear headlines that scream of Mexican "Rat Pack Killers" is deliberately calculated to renew on an even bloodier scale the anti-Mexican riots instigated here in 1943.

With the rise of McCarthyism sending fresh inspiration to local Ku Klux Klan elements, as well as to the followers of Gerald L. K. Smith, the repeated attempts to make the Mexican people the subject of organized mob attacks assumes sinister new implications.

The Community Service Organization, which a few years ago spearheaded the movement that elected Edward Roybal, an independent Mexican representative, to the City Council, must assume the leadership in this fight.

The CSO has so far limited itself to calling for a boycott of the anti-Mexican papers. But such an action can be effective only if it is backed by the power of the union movement and by the city's minority organizations.

At a recent CSO meeting a proposal was made to call a broad conference of unions and community organizations for united action on this issue. The proposal was resisted on the grounds that "reds" might infiltrate such a movement.

Organized terror against minority peoples is the inevitable outgrowth of the present "redhunting" hysteria. For the leadership of a minority group to yield to its pressure to any degree is to become powerless in the face of the Hearstlings and the McCarthys.

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by Frank Kofsky

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Another boost for war party

The war party in the United States got another boost with the Senate testimony of Washington’s former top man in Baghdad for weapons “inspections.”

The way U.S. president George Bush, Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and CIA director George Tenet used David Kay’s statements, and the way the liberal-left trumpeted Kay’s testimony to buttress their case for “pushing Bush out” in November, leave no doubt about this conclusion.

There is now a stronger consensus in ruling circles for the strategy of “pre-emption.” Kay said his snoops discovered that Baghdad possessed no “weapons of mass destruction” at the start of the Anglo-American assault on Iraq. Then in the same breath he argued that Saddam Hussein’s regime was “even more dangerous than we suspected” because it had the capacity to manufacture such arms, and he backed the White House decision to invade 100 percent. Bush, Rumsfeld, and Tenet grabbed this argument and run with it. It was repeated again and again on the small screen, the airwaves, and the printed press.

Kay made some headway in silencing critics of the White House who claimed that the Bush team had conspired to falsify CIA reports to bolster its case for war. If he had had the same “intelligence” presented to him, Kay said, he would have chosen the same course “the political leaders” took. By presenting himself as outside of the current administration, Kay blew more wind in the sails of the Oval Office with his argument.

The one point around which there is widespread agreement across the bourgeois political spectrum is Kay’s claim of “faulty intelligence” leading up to the Iraq war. Liberal critics of the administration used this to go after Bush and argue their case that he is the main source of all evil in Washington and has to be dumped in November. This goes right along the lines of the main gripe that Nancy Pelosi and Thomas Daschle—the Democratic leaders in Congress—have had with Bush on “defense”: neglecting “homeland security.”

Bush and Rumsfeld licked their chops. Yes, there are faults with “our intelligence,” they said. And they’ll be taken care of by improving and strengthening the CIA and every other spy agency and network that serves the interests of the U.S. empire. In this case, as in every other, the liberal criticisms helped advance the case for imperialism and its wars. As an aside, Bush announced

a hefty increase for the Homeland Security department in his new budget proposal.

The president and other top officials in his cabinet astutely pointed to the continuity of their Iraq policy with that of Bush’s predecessor, William Clinton.

As long as working people accept the framework of protecting “America,” defending “our country,” supporting “our troops,” or improving “our intelligence,” they will be inevitably drawn to support the war party. That’s what the Democratic primaries, and the campaign appearances of all the liberals contending for the nomination to compete against Bush in November, are helping to accomplish.

Revolutionists are glad to do what it takes to push Bush out in November. But not in order to push a liberal into the White House like the warmongering, “end welfare as we know it,” death-penalty advocate Clinton.

As Malcolm X put it, working people need to shed all illusions that there are fundamental differences between Democrats and Republicans. “One is the wolf, the other is a fox,” he said. No matter which one of the two is in the White House working people go to the wall. In the 1964 presidential elections, when the main candidates were Lyndon B. Johnson (the “peace” candidate) and Barry Goldwater (the “war” candidate), Malcolm X exposed the deceit of this phony distinction.

“The shrewd capitalists, the shrewd imperialists,” he said, “knew that the only way people would run towards the fox [Johnson] would be if you showed them the wolf [Goldwater]. So they created a ghastly alternative... And at the moment he [Johnson] had troops invading the Congo and South Vietnam.”

The main threat imperialism faces today is the inevitably deepening depression conditions worldwide. It’s this economic and social nightmare capitalism is leading toiling humanity toward that is generating working-class resistance and social explosions—like those in the Dominican Republic, Bolivia, and Venezuela. These grinding conditions of imperialism in its decline, along with communist leadership, are what will open the road for working people toward overthrowing the rule of finance capital and rebuilding the world on new foundations that start from the interests of the vast majority, not the profits of the few.

Solidarity day for Utah miners

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representation.” Directing his remarks at the strikers, Shelley said, “The eyes of Utah are on you. The eyes of every coal mine that is nonunion are on you. Your struggle is being felt by every nonunion and every union mine in the United States. It’s time we sent a message to every coal mine in this state. The Co-Op miners have stood up for safety. These miners have shown they will not be treated as second-class citizens. Co-Op miners, you have scared every nonunion mine in this state. I want you to know that our local is behind you until the end.”

Trent Willis, representing ILWU Local 10, began by taking the union pin off his hat and presenting it to Mike Dalpiaz, one of the chairs of the rally and a member of the UMWA International Executive Board from District 22. Surrounded by members of the local’s drill team, Willis said, “Let this pin be a sign of brotherhood from now on. With acts of solidarity like we see here today we can defeat anything against labor.

“Local 10 is here to deliver a message to the Kingston family: Stop your union busting and negotiate now. The ILWU promises to be here the whole way. The Kingstons may ask why is the ILWU here—they won a contract battle in 2002. I’m here representing 10,500 longshoremen up and down the West coast. If the coal miners don’t have a contract, we don’t have a contract. We’ll continue to fight until you have a contract. We want a contract now.” He ended with “Solidarity forever! ¡*Si se puede!*” (Yes we can) and left the stage after leading the crowd in union chants.

Mike Dalpiaz said he had just returned from Washington, D.C., where a UMWA International Executive Board meeting was held. “I bring greetings from our president, Cecil Roberts,” Dalpiaz said. In Washington, he said, “We talked a lot about the Co-Op strike. We will continue providing support and staff until we win.”

George Neckel from Jobs with Justice in Salt Lake City said that this strike “is what Jobs with Justice is all about. Jobs with Justice has broadened the strike by bringing in allies—because we believe in solidarity. In this, we are not just fighting for Co-Op miners but for dignity for all people.” The group organized the bus load of supporters who came from Salt Lake City.

Introduced to the crowd were members and officers from two UMWA locals at underground mines—the Deer Creek mine and the Deserado mine in Rangely, Colorado; five UMWA retirees’ locals; and Paper, Allied-Industrial, Chemical and Energy Workers International Union (PACE) and United Steel Workers of America locals from Salt Lake City.

Other speakers addressed the fight for on-the-job safety, one of the main issues in the Co-Op strike. Joe “Moose” Martinez from UMWA Local 6417 traveled to the gathering from Nevada. At 75, he is the youngest member in his local of 140 retired miners. Originally from the Price area, his father worked 50 years in the mines. “All of my uncles were killed in the mines,” he said. “I know what it is to have safety. You have nothing if you don’t have safety. Without a union you have nothing,” he told the gathering.

Martinez said he has spent the last 14 years organizing for the UMWA after an accident ended his years as an underground miner. “The last mine I organized was the Deserado mine in 1984,” he stated. “I am proud to see ILWU and everyone else giving you help. I know you’ll have pensioners backing you up. This is where we learn to fight.”

Susan Austin, pastoral administrator from the local San Rafael Catholic Church Mission, pledged ongoing support from the church, which has been paying the rent and utility bills of striking miners through its Charity Fund. “When the walkout happened, we realized we’d have a lot of families who would need support through autumn and probably winter,” Austin said. “We need to support the miners for one day longer than the Co-Op mine.” There were flyers available with the address of the Charity Fund. Austin explained that more funds are needed this month for rent payments and high winter utility bills.

Closing the rally, Dalpiaz said, “Immigrants belong here. Most of us in this room had grandfathers and great grandfathers who didn’t come from here. Neither the president nor anyone else can stop immigrants from coming here and forming a union. My union will soon be the Co-Op miners’ union.”

Hundreds of messages of support—including some faxed to the union hall the day of the rally—have been sent to the striking Co-Op miners. Dalpiaz announced there were messages received from the New York City Central Labor Council, the members of the United Food and Commercial Workers in Southern California who are on strike against Safeway and Albertsons, the UNITE regional board in Cleveland, Ohio, UMWA Local 1248 in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, and the National Union of Mineworkers in the United Kingdom.

The Co-Op miners have been invited to Boston by Massachusetts Jobs with Justice, which is organizing a one-week tour for them beginning March 8.

Salt Lake supporters of the Co-Op miners are organizing a Valentine’s Day dance for 7:00 p.m. February 14 at the Jubilee Center to raise funds for the strike.

It’s what you’re for that counts, not what you’re against

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

In a letter on the facing page, reader John Riddell expresses uneasiness with the *Militant*’s reporting, analysis, and editorial stance concerning the U.S.-led assault and occupation of Iraq.

Riddell implies that what the *Militant* has said so far on the matter is an inadequate explanation of “working-class policy towards imperialist wars and occupations of oppressed peoples.” In such conflicts, he continues, “communists side with the oppressed people, regardless of its formal leadership. Such solidarity lends support to national liberation forces and, where they do not yet exist, helps create the conditions for their emergence.” He urges the *Militant* to “say more on the transitional forms through which working-class solidarity with the Mideast peoples undergoing imperialist occupation can be expressed.”

I don’t share Riddell’s assessment. In numerous editorials and columns over the last year, the *Militant* has called for unconditional withdrawal of U.S. and all other occupying forces not only from Iraq and Afghanistan, but from the Balkans, Korea, Guantánamo

REPLY TO A READER

Bay, Cuba, and any other place Washington and its imperialist allies deploy their armies for plunder. It has urged participation in peace marches and other actions where such demands can be advanced, even if the main organizers don’t agree with such slogans. It has also explained that antiwar demonstrations, however large, have never stopped imperialist wars and will not halt them now. It has pointed out that the patriotism of the liberal-left that dominates today’s peace groups helps mislead workers and farmers into the war party’s framework of defending “America.” The *Militant* has also tried to win youth and working people, including those who march for peace, to the perspective of the Bolsheviks—building proletarian parties capable of leading the toilers to take power through a popular revolution, establish a workers and farmers government, overthrow capitalism, and join in the worldwide fight for socialism. In short, the *Militant* has promoted the road towards the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This course, in its totality, is the only effective solidarity that revolutionists can offer to “the Mideast peoples undergoing imperialist occupation.”

To clarify further this communist stance I will counterpose it to the course of the two main tendencies of the middle-class left that are at the center of the leadership of today’s U.S. “peace movement.”

CPUSA drops even pretense of Leninism

On the one hand is the Communist Party USA and the Committees of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism—a split off from the CPUSA. These groups are part of the leadership of United for Justice and Peace, one of the two main U.S. peace coalitions.

An example of the patriotic framework of these forces is the “Call to Action” appearing in the December 23 edition of *CPUSA online*, which advertised a CP national conference that took place January 31 in New York City. “Build Unity to Take Back Our Country in 2004! Defeat Bush and the Ultra Right!” was the headline.

An interview with Sam Webb, the CPUSA’s national chair, published in the January issue of *Political Affairs*, the party’s theoretical magazine, expounded further on the Stalinist party’s course of class collaboration and accelerating abandonment of even a pretense to Leninism. “There is a tendency to think that the Bolshevik experience constituted a model of socialist revolution,” Webb says. “In some ways we were prisoners of the experience in Russia in 1917.... It doesn’t fit the U.S. in 2003. Perhaps we can learn as much from Allende’s Chile as from Lenin’s Russia.”

“We have,” Webb argues in the interview, “a long democratic tradition, as do other countries. Although many on the left say our democracy is partial and incomplete, the fact is that democratic notions and sentiments are deeply ingrained in our thinking.... Therefore, our vision of socialism has to have democracy at its core.” Asked about the new society the CP envisions, Webb continues: “Nor do I think that a socialist movement will sideline the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence or a system of checks and balances on concentrated political power.”

After such clarity on the CP’s reliance on bourgeois forms of rule, it is no wonder that the party’s “antiwar” position is summed up in the call to replace U.S. troops occupying Iraq with those under the blue helmet of the imperialist-dominated UN. The corollary “struggle to defeat Bush,” the party’s “main task in the coming period,” according to Webb, helps lead those so inclined into the fold of the Democratic Party—one of the twin parties of U.S. imperialism.

Workers World backs Saddam Hussein regime

The Workers World Party, another Stalinist organization, is part of the central leadership of International ANSWER, the second major U.S. coalition “to stop war and end racism,” as it describes itself. While bourgeois liberal forces in this grouping don’t share a number of Workers World’s positions, the party itself is not shy about airing them. One, in particular, is the organization’s unabashed support for the party-police state that the brutal regime of Saddam Hussein headed for nearly four decades.

The February 5 *Workers World*, the party’s weekly newspaper, for example, published an article by Fred Goldstein under the headline, “U.S. in Iraq: Mass resistance hinders neocolonial plans.” After painting a fantastic picture of a U.S. quagmire in Iraq and massive popular resistance to the imperialist occupation, Goldstein says: “The destruction of the regime of Saddam Hussein and the Baathist Party by military means enabled the U.S. to destroy the institutions built up by the revolution during more than 35 years of independence. But it did not consummate a thoroughgoing internal counter-revolution, of the type that took place in Iran in 1953, when the CIA

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New Mexico strike

Continued from front page services,” Arnold said. “People said the 20- and 30-cent wage increases of the past are not going to do anymore,” he continued. “We want our share and we want parity with other miners.”

Local 953 also represents 200 underground miners in a fourth BHP-owned mine, who ratified a contract in May of last year. The local has represented miners in this area for more than 35 years. This is the first time workers have gone on strike.

In a ballot held February 6 and 7, the surface mine workers voted 298-128 to reject the company’s latest contract proposal and continue the strike. “They turned it down pretty resoundingly,” Local 953 business agent Don Looney told the *Farmington Daily Times*. “They just don’t think they’re getting any respect. They’re just not happy with BHP and they think it’s finally time to stand up to them,” he added.

The miners have set up picket lines at the entrances of the three surface mines: the San Juan and Navajo mines, which are 16 miles west and 19 miles southwest of Farmington, respectively, and the La Plata mine.

BHP Billiton, which is based in Melbourne, Australia, describes itself as “the world’s largest diversified resources company,” with 35,000 employees working in more than 100 operations in around 20 countries. Company mines produce aluminum, coal, copper, ferro-alloys, iron ore, and titanium. The company reported more than 14 million tons of coal production last year from its four New Mexico mines.

BHP exclusively supplies the Arizona Public Services power plant in the Navajo Nation, as well as the P&M power plant in San Juan, New Mexico, according to union leaders.

“They were trying to take away much of our health insurance,” Don Looney told the *Militant* over the telephone. “But we pushed that back. Where we are way behind is in our pension plan and we really need to make some gains on that front. We have members who are in their 50s and for them this is no small question.” Retirement benefits are so low, he explained, that retired workers could be forced to work minimum-wage jobs to make ends meet.

Unionists told the *Militant* that support has come from Teamsters Union—organized UPS workers, members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Carpenters Union members, and other working people in the area, who have stopped at the picket lines to donate food, coffee, heaters, and blankets. “We need the support and encouragement of brothers and sisters out there,” said Looney.

“Many of our members in the underground mine come to the picket line after they get off work. One of them did a night shift for me,” said Arnold. “We have also received letters of support and visits by members of the Ute tribe. Our tribal council has also express support,” he said.

LETTERS

Again on Iraq

The “Reply to a Reader” in the January 12 *Militant*, discussing the November “anti-Bush” protest in London, correctly points out that “substantially more is required than ‘larger protests’ pleading to the rulers for ‘peace.’” It quotes Leon Trotsky’s 1938 statement that “only a revolutionary mass struggle against war and against imperialism...can secure a real peace.”

This sums up well communist policy on imperialist war in general and on interimperialist conflicts. But more needs to be said on working-class policy toward imperialist wars and occupations of oppressed peoples—particularly those now under way in Iraq, Palestine, and Afghanistan.

These wars certainly express interimperialist rivalries, but they are also wars of conquest in colonies or semicolonies.

As the *Militant* has often noted, in such conflicts communists side with the oppressed people, regardless of its formal leadership. Such solidarity lends support to national liberation forces and, where they do not yet exist, helps create the conditions for their emergence—as well as helping to consolidate a workers vanguard in the imperialist countries.

Thus in 1938, even as Trotsky opposed

“I’m most worried about my pension. There’s more things, but that’s my main worry,” said Shiprock resident Phil Lansing during a protest outside the BHP building on West Arrington last Friday, according to the *Farmington Daily Times*. “It’s worth it to strike,” said Lansing, who has worked in the mines for 29 years.

“We are standing strong, no miners have crossed our picket line and we are aware of no scabs,” said Arnold. The union leaders asked supporters to send contributions to: Operating Engineers Local 953 at P.O. Box 2127 Kirtland, NM 87417, Tel: (505) 598-6634. Contributions to the miners’ food bank should be taken to their union hall at 4260 Highway 64 in Kirtland.

Meanwhile, BHP Billiton has agreed to a new union contract with 441 miners at the Cerro Colorado copper mine in Chile. After a seven-day strike, the mining giant succumbed to the union demand for higher wages.

The miners had rejected a company offer of a 3.9 percent increase, and won instead a 4 percent increase over and above the rate of inflation, along with improved production bonuses.

“It is a good union agreement—we are going back,” said union leader Carlos Valenzuela, quoted in a report on the Bloomberg news service. The strike at Cerro Colorado was the third at a Chilean mine since August, and the second at a mine in Chile controlled by BHP Billiton. Workers at the company’s Escondida mine struck for one day in August, forcing management to improve its offer.

What counts is what you’re for, not what you are against

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brought the Shah back to the throne and destroyed the Tudeh party and all progressive mass organizations; or in Indonesia in 1965, when the CIA working through the military killed over a million communists and progressives; or in Chile in 1973, when the CIA helped Pinochet and his butchers murder tens of thousands of organizers of the mass movement....

“In Iraq, because of the nature of the Iraqi Revolution and what it achieved for the masses, there was no such counter-revolutionary internal base for the CIA and Pentagon to work with. They tried for 12 years to overthrow the regime by sanctions, economic strangulation, repeated bombing of the so-called no-fly zones and by financing plotters and guerrilla forces. But they were unable to break the morale of the masses and they were unable to find internal forces of reaction strong enough to bring imperialism back.”

Goldstein presents the Hussein regime as the heir and continuator of the “great anti-imperialist revolution” of 1958.

The Baathist regime, however, in which Hussein rose to the top spot by 1979, was the one that decapitated the 1958 revolution that liberated the country from British colo-

illusions that pacifist efforts could prevent a war between “democratic” imperialism and Nazi Germany, he also favored active support for oppressed nations such as China against imperialist wars of conquest.

As the *Militant* has stated, this policy is equally applicable to the imperialist wars and occupations in the Mideast today.

With respect to Iraq, the *Militant* has stressed the obstacles represented by the military prowess of U.S. imperialism, the reactionary character of the Baathist current, and the political disorientation of antiwar protests. All this is true, and it makes the fight for withdrawal of imperialist troops more difficult—but not impossible.

I hope the *Militant* will say more on the transitional forms through which working-class solidarity with the Mideast peoples undergoing imperialist occupation can be expressed.

John Riddell
Toronto, Ontario

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people. Please keep your letters brief and indicate if you prefer that your initials be used or your full name. Where necessary the letters will be abridged.

Cleveland protests halt deportation of Palestinian woman from U.S. to Venezuela



Militant/Carole Lesnick

CLEVELAND—About 200 people held a vigil and rally here February 2 at the Trinity Lutheran Church (above) to protest the deportation of Amina Silmi. A Venezuelan of Palestinian descent, Silmi is a mother of three U.S.-born children and has lived in the United States for 14 years. Washington is trying to deport her for allegedly overstaying a 1990 visitor’s visa. Silmi was about to board a connecting flight to Venezuela at the Atlanta airport February 4, when a federal judge in Cleveland issued a restraining order to block her deportation. She is now being held at an Atlanta detention center while the Council on American Islamic Relations and Greater Cleveland Immigrant Support Network organize to win her release. “I feel inspired because we were able to come together and make a difference,” said Don Bryant, a leader of the Immigrant Support Network. “The fight isn’t over yet.”

—CAROLE LESNICK

nialism as part of the wave of anticolonial revolutions after World War II. For details on how this was carried out see “Imperialist plunder of Iraq has long history” and “Baath party regime beheaded 1958 revolution” in the March 31 and April 21 issues of the *Militant* last year, respectively.

As the *Militant* has explained recently, years of Stalinist betrayals in Iraq helped pave the way for the Baathist regime to come to power, destroying the 1958 democratic revolution and dealing crushing blows to the working class. That was the counter-revolution. That’s one of the main obstacles working people in Iraq have faced. (Not “the military prowess of U.S. imperialism,” which Riddell inaccurately says the *Militant* has stressed as one of the main hurdles in front of Iraqi people today.) And that’s why Washington has found a host of groups openly backing or going along with the imperialist assault and occupation—from most of the Kurdish parties, to Shiite organizations that are part of the U.S.-run Iraqi Governing Council, to the Iraqi Communist Party.

Because of Stalinist betrayals in Iraq and throughout the Mideast, there is a complete absence of communist nuclei in these countries. The political vacuum thus created has been filled by bourgeois nationalist formations—like Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hamas in Palestine, or the National Salvation Front in Algeria—that have nothing to do with defending the interests of the toilers.

The so-called resistance in Iraq today is dominated by remnants of the Baathist regime. To the degree other forces are involved there is no indication that they represent anything that’s progressive. The act of throwing a bomb or firing a missile at a U.S. troop unit or helicopter in Iraq today doesn’t automatically make one progressive. None of these forces have announced to the world that they are for a program that’s in the interests of the exploited majority—unlike the National Liberation Front (NLF) in Algeria, for example, when it waged guerrilla warfare against French colonialism in the 1950s and 1960s. National liberation movements like the NLF have always put forward a program explaining what they are for, even when they were forced to function in completely clandestine conditions.

The important thing is what you are for, not what you are against!

This was brought home to me by comments by delegates of the Progressive Youth Union in Bahrain—the youth group of the Communist Party—during a January meeting of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Larnaca, Cyprus.

These individuals were euphoric about what they described as the result of U.S.

imperialist intervention in the Middle East since the opening of the 1990s. There are more openings, more space, for communists to function openly in Bahrain today, they emphasized, comparing the current conditions to 25 years ago when CPers and other opponents of the regime were routinely jailed, tortured, killed, or forced into exile, and when tolerance of secular organizations was virtually nonexistent. Their view was that imperialist intervention, beginning with the U.S.-led Arab-Persian Gulf War in 1990–91, is forcing democratic changes and should thus be supported. Other delegates from the Mideast expressed similar attitudes, but those from Bahrain stated this in the boldest manner. These delegates also said that they and their organization celebrated the capture of Saddam Hussein by imperialist troops in Iraq, much as the Iraqi Communist Party did, because the Hussein regime was such a brutal dictatorship, one which they had fiercely opposed.

Being against Saddam Hussein, or even “anti-imperialist,” however, doesn’t make one progressive either. What counts is what you are for. The Stalinists, like others on the “left,” often say they are for “democracy,” as the CP USA so eloquently explains. Because their existence is based on class collaboration, not a revolutionary class-struggle orientation, they end up on the bandwagon of one or another imperialist power that imposes certain bourgeois democratic forms as part of its imperialist offensive and occupation. Once the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat ceases in practice to be at the center of the program of a workers party, everything else follows.

Compared to living under the Hussein regime, it is true there is more space for working people to defend their interests in Iraq today, and elsewhere in the Middle East. Revolutionists need to take full advantage of this opportunity. But class-conscious workers don’t therefore support democratic imperialism. The broad trends towards secularism, for women’s rights, and in opposition to capital punishment and torture around the world that the *Militant* has noted, for example, are the results of struggles by working people, students, and various middle-class layers in the semicolonial world and internationally. They are products of the conquests of the anticolonial revolutions of the last century, not imperialist benevolence. As long as they serve to advance imperialist interests, Washington and its allies will wield them—but only so far.

In short, there is no stand-in for the working class—whether it be of the democratic imperialist type, the “Islamic fundamentalist” kind, or the Stalinist-like, Saddam Hussein dictatorship variation.

Derry parade marks Bloody Sunday

Marchers to London: tell truth about 1972 massacre by British troops

BY PAUL DAVIES

DERRY, Northern Ireland—"Our long fight for the truth has shaken the British establishment, and having come this far we are not going away," Catherine Lyons told demonstrators who marched February 1 through the Bogside and Creggan areas of Derry. Several thousand braved the torrential downpour to participate in the march, which marked the 32nd anniversary of the Bloody Sunday massacre here, in which British paratroopers shot dead 14 civil rights marchers.

People came from across Ireland, as well as the United Kingdom and the United States. At a rally on Free Derry Corner during the march, and in a protest meeting the previous evening, speakers called for the British government to tell the truth about the 1972 massacre. The Saville Inquiry into the killings—named for its chairperson—is not expected to issue its report until 2005, after seven years of hearings.

Lyons's brother, William Nash, was one of those killed. "Bloody Sunday didn't take place out of sight. It was a massacre at a public event that was witnessed by thousands, at close range," she said.

"Whatever the outcome of Saville," said Lyons, "whether or not this is the last stretch of the search for truth, we are going to get there in the end." She noted that "some of the signs are not good" for prospects of an unbiased ruling.

"Bloody Sunday was significant because it demonstrated the openly repressive nature of British rule and the extent that they would go to in order to underwrite their discriminatory system," Sinn Fein speaker Mary Lou McDonald told the marchers, referring to the second-class status inflicted on Catholics in Northern Ireland. McDonald is the party's candidate for Dublin in the forthcoming European elections.

Recalling the 1972 British government inquiry headed by Lord Widgery, which cleared the British forces of blame, she said: "They thought that Widgery had done the job, but they hadn't counted on the determination of the families of the dead and the people of Derry, and the clear-headedness of the Irish people, who knew that eventually the truth will out."

Meeting calls for justice

"We set up the Bloody Sunday Justice Campaign in 1992 and as a result we got the new inquiry," said John Kelly at the public meeting the day before the march. Kelly's brother Michael was one of those killed by British troops.

British officers and soldiers have testified before the tribunal, as well as former members of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA), which led an armed struggle to end British rule and unite Ireland.

"Disappointment and frustration is setting in among the families," said Kelly. Among the developments that give the whiff of attempts at a cover-up, he said, was the fact that British courts had granted complete anonymity to soldiers who testify.

Kelly described how 135 family members had traveled to London last year to hear someone described as "soldier F" testify at the inquiry: "F killed between four to seven people on Bloody Sunday but he had total contempt for the inquiry."

"For two days at the inquiry F says he remembers nothing," said Russell Miller, who also spoke at the meeting. Miller, an attorney, has followed the inquiry for the British-Irish Human Rights Watch Group. Then, he said, "when an officer says he saw F shoot Bernard McGuigan, who was waving a white handkerchief in surrender, F admits that he could have killed him."

Miller said that Gen. Michael Jackson, head of the British army, testified at the inquiry during last year's invasion of Iraq, and "there was no way that he was going to be given a rough ride by Saville during an actual war." Jackson was an adjutant to the



Militant/Marnie Kennedy

Relatives of victims of 1972 Bloody Sunday massacre lead march in Derry

paratroopers in Derry at the time of Bloody Sunday.

Not all the soldiers have attempted to hide the truth. The UK *Guardian* reported that soldier "027" said in his testimony in October 2002 that "unspeakable acts took place on Bloody Sunday. There was no justification for a single shot I saw fired."

The soldier added, "The responsibility for the actions lies with those who selected and directed an outfit like that. It is noticeable that no one in authority has taken responsibility for orchestrating the situation."

"Saville will protect the officers, but not the soldier," Angela Hegarty, a law teacher and Bloody Sunday justice campaigner, told the January 31 meeting. "You cannot ignore the colonial mind-set of the inquiry. Bloody Sunday happened in the first place because the people of Derry stood up to imperial Britain."

"The British were outraged at the assertion of Free Derry," Hegarty explained,

referring to the areas of the Bogside and Creggan that were barricaded by residents between the 1969 Battle of the Bogside and 1972, and made off-limits to the British army that was occupying the rest of Northern Ireland.

"It has been vitally important in the past months that IRA members have come forward to testify about Bloody Sunday, or they would have been accused of hiding something," said John Kelly. During his testimony Martin McGuinness, Sinn Fein Member of Parliament for Mid Ulster, denied allegations that he was planning a nail bomb attack in Derry on Bloody Sunday.

Saville twice directed McGuinness to name other IRA members. McGuinness said later that he "would rather die" than give the name of any other IRA man.

Angela Hegarty urged the audience to "contrast the [tribunal's] treatment of Edward Heath and Martin McGuinness." Heath, who was British prime minister at the

time of the massacre, "repeatedly refused to answer questions that he was asked," she said, "but McGuinness was criticized for refusing to hand over names of other IRA members and refusing to locate IRA arms dumps."

Meanwhile, on February 3 a meeting of Northern Ireland's political parties, chaired by the British and Irish governments, began a review of the Good Friday Agreement signed in May 1998. Substantial majorities approved the accord in referendums in both the Irish Republic and the British-occupied north. Among other things the agreement led to the establishment of a Northern Ireland Assembly. Britain has worked with unionist forces to try to stall the implementation of central aspects of the accord, and has suspended the assembly on four previous occasions.

Sinn Fein president Gerry Adams explained January 15 that London has stalled because "the British government is a unionist government—not unionist of the Irish variety but British unionism."

Sinn Fein, the party leading the fight to end British rule, has issued proposals for the review. They include the repeal of the Northern Ireland Act 2000 that gave powers to the British government to suspend the assembly and other institutions.

The party is also calling for an expansion of all-Ireland cooperation, a poll on both sides of the border on Irish unity, and the withdrawal of all British troops.

The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), led by rightist demagogue Ian Paisley, won the largest number of seats in the assembly in last year's elections, which also saw a significant rise in Sinn Fein's vote—a sign of the ongoing polarization. The DUP is currently refusing to talk to Sinn Fein. The DUP has recently won to its ranks several defectors from the rival Ulster Unionist Party (UUP), which prior to the November elections had been the leading pro-British party in Northern Ireland.

Pete Clifford in Edinburgh and Marnie Kennedy in Belfast contributed to this article.

INS cops who beat Mexican immigrant jailed

BY JACQUIE HENDERSON

HOUSTON—Three immigration agents were sentenced to prison February 2 for violating the civil rights of Serafin Olvera while carrying out their "duties" as agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (now the Bureau of Immigration and Customs Enforcement).

The rulings were hailed as the "first of their kind" by the *Houston Chronicle* and other local media.

Olvera, a longtime Houston resident and Mexican citizen, was paralyzed in a March 25, 2001, raid on a home in Bryan, Texas, where he and other immigrant construction workers were living. After beating him and breaking his neck, immigration agents denied him medical care for more than seven hours, pepper spraying him and dragged him in and out of vehicles and transporting him to and from immigration jails and "processing centers." He died in February 2002 after 11 months in the hospital, during which time he was in constant pain and unable to move or speak.

U.S. District Judge Lee Rosenthal sentenced Richard Henry Gonzales to 78 months in prison, Louis Rey Gomez to 41 months, and Carlos Reyna to 33 months. All three agents were also assessed modest fines.

The sentencing came seven months after a federal jury convicted the three men of acting with deliberate indifference for failing to get Olvera timely medical care.

The case was brought to trial only

after a more than two-year campaign led by the Olvera family and the Serafin Olvera Justice Committee. This included protest actions publicizing the case in the United States and Mexico and pressing to put the cops on trial first for murder and then under Section 242 of the federal civil rights code, which states that law officers are prohibited from depriving people of basic rights. The committee organizers also came to the defense of other immigrant workers facing attacks in Houston and across the country. Their public actions continued through the sentencing hearing.

Even though the names of Olvera's deported co-workers were not recorded in an attempt to prevent the tracing of any witnesses, family members gathered this information, traveled to Mexico, and convinced six of them to come to Houston to testify. The courageous testimony of these workers—who faced threats that "the same thing will happen to you" if they reported the beating—was key in preventing the agents from getting away with murder.

In a desperate, last-minute attempt to prevent their clients from serving time, defense lawyers for the three agents argued at the February 2 sentencing hearing that, while any imprisoned police officer is at risk from the prison population, immigration agents are the most hated and therefore their clients would be in "grave danger" if sent to jail.

Gonzales rose to make a personal appeal. He protested being singled out. "There were 12 agents involved that day,"

he reminded the judge. And others were contacted during the day of the raid, he reported. "What about the agent that didn't write down the names of those deported?" he asked. "I thought he was faking it," he said by way of explanation for his dousing of Olvera with pepper spray while he lay paralyzed. "You may think me evil," he said in his defense, "but there are those more evil than me."

Martha Olvera, sister-in-law of Serafin and organizer of the justice committee, said she was glad to finally see the agents going to jail. "We have been working for justice. It has been a long and hard fight. I am glad to finally see some justice for Serafin."

"I was hoping for a more severe punishment, but I am happy," said Socorro Olvera, Serafin's widow, as she left the court with her five children.

The U.S. attorney for the Southern District of Texas, Michael Shelby, said the convictions and sentences send the message that "this is a nation of laws." Shelby added, "There is nothing pleasant about going after your own people."

In a separate decision last week, a San Antonio federal judge approved a \$2.15 million settlement in a lawsuit filed by Olvera's family to be put toward education costs for his five children.

"This is important because it is not just about the terrible things they did to this one man," said America Garcia, a Houston garment worker. "It is not just his family that is left without a husband, without a father. How many other families have they left with someone deported or killed?"